# RELIGION AND SOCIETY INTHE BRAHMA PURANA

SURABHI SHETH

Brahma Purāna, probably the most eclectic of the puranas, portrays rich and varied imageries of folk Hinduism. While sharing its major features with other puranas, it is distinguished by its emphases on the religious places (tirthas) beyond the Arvavarta, especially in Orissa and on the banks of Godavari, reconciliation between the historically antagonistic sects of Śaivism Vaisnavism, recognition various ethnic and sub-caste groupings, and rehabilitation of the folk and tribal deities in the Hindu pantheon. It is in this context of the making of Hinduism as an integrative system of beliefs and practices that the present book systematizes all relevant data in the Brahma Purāna for those interested in the perennial issue of continuity and change in Indian society. In her selection, organization and interpretation of the materials the author is guided by the criterion of maintaining the relationship between the text and the context. It is hoped that the historians, the sociologists, the ethnographers and the Sanskritists interested in identifying problems of critical edition of Brahma Purāņa will find this attempt useful.



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Respected Prof. Dr. Satyavont and St. Sau. Uzhabahan With Kind regards from

Surathi Sheth

18. 11 79.



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Surabhi Sheth M.A., Ph.D.



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## FOR MADHUBEN AND MAMA

### **PREFACE**

Epic-Purāṇic literature constitutes a vital link between the Vedantic metaphysics and the living traditions of Hinduism. However, until recently, Purāṇas were considered to be an amorphous collection of stories and discourses, meant for the consumption of illiterate masses and not amenable to any systematic historical or sociological analysis. Thanks to the efforts of the pioneering scholars like Professor R.C. Hazra, A.D. Pusalkar, and V.S. Aggrawal, the study of Purāṇas has now attracted attention of many historians, ethnographers, and sociologists. The Brahma Purāṇa, though one of the major eighteen Purāṇas, has not yet been studied critically by the Sanskritic scholars or Indologists, with the result that its contents have not yet influenced the study of the traditional Indian society and belief systems.

The present work has grown out of an extensive critical study of the Brahma-Purāṇa.¹ The Brahma-Purāṇa, it has been pointed out, is encyclopaedic and provides rich material for social, religious, philosophical, mythological, political, geographical and literary study. While sharing the major features with other Purāṇas, it is distinguished by its emphases on religious places (tirthas), especially in Orissa and on the banks of Gōdāvarī; reconciliation between the historically antagonistic sects of Śaivism and Vaiśnavism; recognition of sub-castes and ethnic groups; and rehabilitation of the folk and tribal deities in the Hindu pantheon. This book attempts to systematise all available data on society and belief systems in the Brahma-Purāṇa for those interested in the study of tradition and change in Indian society.

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to my teachers and colleagues at the M.S. University of Baroda, who helped me at

<sup>1.</sup> The original work, 'Brahma Purāṇa, a critical study,' was written as Ph.D. thesis for the M.S. University of Baroda in 1960. It was done under the guidance of the late Professor G. K. Bhatt.

various stages of this work. I am particularly grateful to late Professor G.K. Bhatt for guiding me and to Dr M.G. Chaturvedi, Dr S.G. Kantawala, Shri D.V. Shastri, Shri Ramanbhai Joshi, Dr M.M. Pathak and Dr H.R. Chaturvedi for helping me at various stages of this study, and to the staff of Smt. Hansa Mehta Library of the M.S. University, to Smt. Nalini Samarth of the Oriental Institute, Baroda. I am particularly indebted to Mr. M.C. Gabriel for his help in editing the manuscript.

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Surabhi Sheth

April, 1979

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### **ABBREVIATIONS**

1. A.B. Aitereya Brāhmaņa 2. ABORI Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute 3. APS or Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra AP.Dhs. 4. AGI Ancient Geography of India by Cunningham 5. AIHT Ancient Indian Historical Tradition 6. AIOC All India Oriental Conference 7. ĀP.-Gr. Āpastamba Grhya Sūtra 8. Arch. Surv. Archaeological Survey 9. A.S.B. Asiatic Society of Bengal Ānandāśram Sanskrit Series 10. ASS 11. ĀŚV. Gr. Āśvalayan Grhya Sūtra 12. Av Atharvaveda 13. B.D.S. Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra 14. BG Bhagavad Gītā 15. Bhag.P. Bhāgavata Purāna Brahma Purāņa 16. Br.P. 17. Br.Up. Brhadāraņyaka Upanişad 18. Brd. P. Brahmānda Purāna 19. Ch.Up. or Chāndogya Upanişad Chan.Up. 20. Ch(s) Chapter (s) 21. CHI Cambridge History of India 22. Ed. Edition 23. EHVS Early History of the Vaisnava Sects 24. EJ Epigraphia Indica Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics 25. ERE Gautama Dharma Sūtra 26. GDS 27. GOS Gaekwad Oriental Series

History of Dharmaśāstra

Gujarat

28. Gui.

29. HDS

30. HV	Harivaṃśa
31. HOS	Harvard Oriental Series
32. HSL	History of Sanskrit Literature
33. IA	Indian Antiquary
34. IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly
35. JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
36. JASB or.	Dociety
J.A.S.B	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
37. JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
38. JBORS	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
39. JOI	Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda
40. JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
41. Kauş Up	Kauśītaki Upanişad
42. Kish K.	Kişkindhā Kāṇḍa
43. Mārk P. or	Mārkaņdeya Purāņa
Mār.P.	
44. Mat.P.	Matsya Purāņa
45. MBH or Mbh	Mahābhārata
46. Ms	Manusmṛti
47. Nair	Naişadhīya carita
48. OUP	Oxford University Press
49. Pad.P.	Padma Purāṇa
50. PHAI	Political History of Ancient India
51. Ram.	Rāmāyaṇa
52. RV	Rgveda
53. Sad.Br.	Šadvimsa Brāhmāņa
54. SB or Sat.Br.	Satapatha Brahmana
55. SBE	Sacred Books of the East
56. SU	Švetāśvatara Upanişad
57. SV	Sāmaveda
58. T.A.	Taittirīya Āraņayaka
59. Tai Br.	Taittirīya Brāhmaņa
60. TS	Taittirīya Samhitā
61. TU	Taittirīya Upanişad
62, Va,P,	Vāyu Purāņa

63. VDS Vasistha Dharma Sūtra

64. VI Vedic Index

65. VIDS Vișņu Dharma Sūtra

66. Vol (s) Volume (s)

67. YS or Yaj Yājñavalkya Smṛti

68. YV Yajurveda

The following abbreviations are for the manuscripts of the Brahma-Purāṇa, used in Ānandāśram Sanskrit Series, edition, Poona.

क इति संक्षिप्तम्-पूर्णम्, जनस्थानिवासिनां साठे इत्युपाह्वानां वे. शा. शास्त्री इत्येतेषाम्

ख इति संक्षिप्तम्-पूर्णंम् गौतमीमाहात्म्यरहितम् ग्राष्टेग्रामनिवासिनां लिमये इत्येतेषाम ।

ग इति संक्षिप्तम्-पूर्णम् गौतमीमाहात्म्यरहितम् दक्षिणापथर्वीत विद्यालयगतमुग्रह-स्थम

घ इति संक्षिप्तम्-केवलं गौतमीमाहात्म्यम्, रा. रा. भाऊसाहेव नगरकर इत्येतेषाम्

ङ इति संक्षिप्तम्-केवलं गौतमीमाहात्म्यम्, श्री पंतसचिव संस्थानभोर' इत्येषाम्

च इति संक्षिप्तम्-केवलं गौतमीमाहात्म्यम्, चोपडेग्रामनिवासिनां वे. रा.
'वामनबुवा ग्रयाचित' इत्येतेषाम्

## PART I

THE PURANAS

#### INTRODUCTION

THE SCOPE OF the Puranas is all embracing like Hindu religion itself. The ancient view of religion comprised life in its entirety. from the most private acts and the most usual social functions to the loftiest aspirations of the human spirit. Dharma, artha, kāma and moksa, the four ends of human endeavour, define the entire scope of the Hindu way of life. In the West, from very early times, the doctrine of "Render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's and unto God that which is God's" clearly distinguished the sphere of religion from that of the sciences and the arts. In India, on the other hand, all sciences and arts have always claimed a basic religious content so that there has never been a distinction between the spheres of religion and other activities. Even treatises on the science of dancing or those on sex like the Kāmaśāstra, or the treatises of Caraka and Susruta on medicine and surgery had to present a religious origin. The umbilical cord of a mythological connection with the help of any convenient fable kept all these various pursuits joined to the main body of religion.

The secret of this hold of religion on all aspects of life and thinking may lie in Hinduism being eclectic, accepting, meaning all things to all men, and providing within its wide frame an outlet for every aspiration. Even so this discipline of religion grew to be one of form rather than content accommodating only development consistent with the discipline of form. This accounts for the long hold of religion on development in all spheres of thought and activity. Soon, however, the development in various spheres began to get inhibited by the outward crust of observance of religious forms. For example, much of the classical chastity in the arts and letters of ancient India may be attributed to the structure of Sanskrit grammar and a rigid application of the orthodox canons.

This gave a singular grace, dignity, beauty, precision, and a sense of restrained power to the best in literature, architecture and sculpture of the age. Soon the limits of utility of these restraints was reached. Thereafter spontaneity and chastity of style were sacrificed to ornament often resulting in baroque and occasionally grotesque violation of all sense of function, and becoming an end in itself. Therefore, while complete identity of religion with life gave cohesion to life, after a certain stage it constrained and restricted life itself.

The function and place of the Purānas in such a scheme of things, quite predictably consist of reiterating the fundamental canons by which various classes in society are to be governed. However, they differ from the Vedas and the Upaniṣads in their content. The Hindus have always regarded truth as eternal, sanātana, and all the various sacred books or seers do or can do, is only to reiterate this eternal truth in different forms and guises thus retaining the fidelity to the form. In actual practice the Vedas and the Upaniṣads display a continually unfolding character inasmuch as new aspects of the truth continually flow from them. In Indian tradition a new doctrine had no chance of independent existence. It can be established by a derivative connection with some aspect of the commonly accepted doctrine. The Vedas and the Upaniṣads present newer doctrines under old names.

The Purāṇas in spite of being a continuation of the same tradition, represent a distinct stage. To hazard a large generalization the Purāṇas were concerned more with the consolidation of existing philosophical speculation than with fresh exploration and adventure; they were concerned more with fixing the central doctrines of Hinduism and planting them into the culture and memory of the race. Thus if the Gītā or Upaniṣads constituted the philosophical doctrines for the intelligentsia of the Hindus, the Purāṇas provided the no less important religious and cultural idiom in terms of which the common man thought, felt, and acted.

Thus, if the basic objective of the Purāṇas was to produce cultural cohesion, by creating a belief system in which every tribe or group of people could recognise something of special appeal to itself, they succeeded quite well. In other words, the body of works called the Purāṇas has to be judged in the light of its historical function of giving cultural and religious unity to a society that was spread all over India. In this, the role and achievement, of the

Purānas, on any examination, must be treated as stupendous, and certainly without parallel in world history.

Another aspect of the same achievement and historical function of the Purāṇas relates to the problem of assimilation. As seems now to be fairly well established, there was a very rich and vital antecedent culture which the Aryans had to deal with. No doubt, then as now, India was a very complex cultural phenomenon. A vast variety of cultures and religions existed from the most simple to the most complex or sophisticated. The Aryans brought with them freshness, vitality, vigour, absolute faith in the superiority of their own culture and the scorn for the natives endemic in most conquerors. In the early Vedic hymns there is evidence of a long drawn internecine struggle and the fact that the native cultures did not go down without stiff resistance. The vast difference between Vedic religion and its present form is the result of the influence of indigenous religion and culture on the original.

At least six prominent features of present day Hindu religion can be clearly traced to indigenous influence:

- (a) the influence of forests
- (b) worship in temple
- (c) worship of Mother Goddess
- (d) worship of Siva and the Phallus
- (e) worship of animals and trees and
- (f) probably the practice of vegetarianism, teetotalism and ahimsā.1

The assimilation of these features, the integration of diverse "little traditions" into a "new great tradition" of Hinduism was largely achieved by the Purānas.

It may, therefore, be claimed that all the Purāṇas have certain common characteristics of form, method of presentation, and content which were consciously or unconsciously guided by this sense of function. The first among these is that each of the Purāṇas glorifies one or the other of the numerous deities of a pantheon. The pantheon as such is opposed to and in constant conflict with another pantheon, say, of demons, asuras, rākṣasas, etc. The conflict between the God-pantheon and the devil-pantheon is

<sup>1.</sup> For a convincing argument based on documentation on these practices being the continuing strands of pre-Aryan culture see J.E. Sanjana, Studies in Gujarati Literature, University of Bombay, 1950, Ch. I.

common to all the Purāṇas. The distinctive feature of each Purāṇa is the role it assigns to its particular deity.

The second characteristic is that all the Purāṇas share much of the same body of historical, semi-historical or non-historical events.

A third one is the extension of the scene of action to cover all parts of the country. Rāma goes from Ayodhyā to Ceylon. Krishna moves from Mathurā, Dwārkā to Kāmrūpa. In fact, the Purāṇas, on one pretext or another describe as many parts of India as possible.

The fourth is that unlike the Upanişads, the concern of the Purāṇas is not solely with the exposition of a philosophical system and neither, unlike the Epics, is it with following and developing the career of the hero; it is rather a combination of the didactic, the narrative and the imaginative. It contains prescriptions of conduct for various classes of people. It describes the conditions of the people. Long and numerous chapters speak of the characteristics of different people—their customs, manners, habits and beliefs. It relates stories with characters and events that usually support a moral. There are also passages of vivid description and picturesque poetry.

Yet another characteristic is the presentation of moral conclusions in a religious garb. Law is both a moral law as well as a secular law, and all transgressions of it are sins, carrying secular and religious penalties. The consciousness of wrong doing and the penalty thereof persist beyond this life. Just as there is a complex graded system of rewards and punishments in this life, a variety of heavens and hells more complex and diverse than anything life can offer follow after death.

Looked at in this perspective the Purāṇas may be seen not merely as scriptures but as a system of communication which operated for centuries through the institutional media of the kathākāras, purāṇikas and the māṇa bhaṭṭas. By a constant harping on certain themes which provided common norms, beliefs and practices these propagandists contributed to the stupendous task of normative integration of diverse cultures in ancient India. A few of these themes which find a place in the various Purāṇas are worth a brief delineation since they also constitute a major point of focus of our present study of the Brahma Purāṇa.

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1. Social Structure. The concept of catur-varna, the four classes, was propagated in the Purānas. It was intended to attain the following objectives:

- (i) Establishing the superiority of the Aryan race, and ensuring continued domination in the two main spheres of power knowledge and governance;
- (ii) Accommodating the indigenous people at the lower strata of the varna hierarchy with the purpose of ensuring the continuance of a number of socially required functions—agriculture, trade, crafts, servitude.
- (iii) Exclusion of the non-assimilable classes like some of the aboriginal tribes. This was attained by dividing the indigenous people in the two classes, assimilable and non-assimilable. Those who found a place in the social hierarchy, such as vaisyas and sūdras developed a stake in the social order. The non-assimilable tribes following the example of these castes were however, encouraged to adopt a vencer of beliefs and practises acceptable to Hinduism. Within each varņa, upward and downward movements were kept fairly fluid. Even inter-varņa mobility was not totally unknown, but was not common either. The division into the four varņas was functional, racial, as well as heriditary and allowed a certain amount of mobility. Slavery in this system unlike among the Romans, did not acquire an institutional form.
- 2. Marriage and Family. Like the varnas, four āśramas were theoretically prescribed. In practice it seems only the first two—brahmacarya and gārhasthya were most actively practised. Since the begetting of male progeny brought merit not only in this world but the other also, marriage was considered universally important and made into a religious obligation. The marriageable age was prescribed more in terms of the maximum than the minimum, prepuberty being more emphasized in the case of girls than in the case of boys. Apparently the bramacarya and the age for study for girls were consistently more restricted. Marriages were usually arranged by parents, but other forms such as gāndharva, paiṣāca, and rākṣasa were also sanctioned. The approach seems to be that the state of being married provided to a considerable extent validity to the nature of the arrangement.

3. Status of Women. Except in very developed or very undeveloped societies, a larger role than that of mother-wife's is neither favoured nor practicable. In very primitive societies, woman has to contribute as much as man towards earning a livelihood. intermediate stages, the economy has not sufficiently developed, and conditions are not sufficiently secure for women to play a large role, and every man is engaged to perform military functions to maintain security of the group against external threats. In every developed society, where security has reduced the role of the military classes to the minimum, women can come forward to play some part. In this respect conditions in India can be compared with those prevailing in Greece, Europe, etc. during corresponding periods.

Except marriage, motherhood and the house chore Puranic women did not have any career open to them, and their education was accordingly governed. Vedic studies were denied to them. Girls from better off families, however, acquired sufficient proficiency in general learning. Vātsyāyana gives a list of sixty-four subsidiary angavidhānas which include solving riddles, chanting recitations, completing unfinished verses, knowledge of lexicons and metres, singing and dancing and some knowledge of framing the annual budget. Social conditions were not too restrictive. Although punishments were prescribed for sexual transgressions, it seems such transgressions were not only far more frequent than is usually thought, but also that the lot of women who violated the rules was not very unhappy. Polygamy was prevalent and was not confined only to kings. Adultery, according to the Smrtis was a lesser sin, i.e. an upapātaka. From a large number of stories in the Purāņas, it can be inferred that an unchaste wife was accepted provided she did the prescribed penance and was genuinely repentant. Only in extreme cases when she committed adultery with a sudra or had borne a child or had attempted to kill her husband, was she abandoned altogether. Vaşistha, Yājñavalkya, Veda-Vyāsa, Atri, and Devala declare that a woman pregnant from a man of another varna remains impure till her delivery or next menstruation. After either she regains her purity.

The widows were enjoined to lead a life of strict celibacy and self-restraint. The custom of satī had begun but was hedged in by numerous conditions and restrictions and was far from universally approved or adopted. Remarriage of widows was gradually falling CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

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into disfavour but was not absolutely forbidden. (Note, for example, that *Amarakośa* gives synonyms for a Punarbhū, i.e. a remarried widow).

There was a large class of ganikas or courtesans who were accomplished and proficient in many arts and who sometimes formed honourable alliances resulting in marriage with citizens.

4. Economic and Cultural Life. The standard of living was very high for the aristocracy. There was a distinct urban culture, with palaces for kings and nobility, and not inconsiderable mansions of the commercial classes—śreṣṭi. There were summer houses by the sea, (samudragṛha); and fountain houses, (dhārāgṛha). People wore clothes made of silk, muslin, calico, linen and fine wool of two varieties. There was also a very high standard of toilette and personal hygiene—extensive use of tooth picks, various recipes for dyeing hair, formulae for different kinds of incense, scents, hair oils, hair lotions and other perfumes. There is repeated reference to sandalwood juice, camphor and other unguents. The Lankāvatāra Sūtra gives a list of approved foods—śāli rice, wheat and barley, pulses of three kinds, clarified butter, oils, molasses, and raw and coarse sugar. Fish, meat and occasionally liquor were included.

There was widespread belief in omens, portents and various superstitions. The well-to-do were supposed not only to be well-versed in the scriptures but also in music and musical instruments. In the Purāṇic age, the ideal for a citizen (nāgarika) was, in addition to his vocation, to pursue a life of pleasure, of picnic, dance and music and intellectual discussion—goṣṭhi.

5. Education. The relation between teachers and pupils was most satisfactory. This is evidenced by great respect and obedience for the teacher, and devotion to studies, the idea of studies being both an imparting of information as well as a training of character, a tender solicitude for the well-being of the scholars on the part of the guru. These principles generally governed teacher-pupil relations. The syllabus however shows an excessive preoccupation with scholastic subjects and an inadequate training in vocational subjects. The study of the Vedas and Vedāngas, Purāṇa, Nyāya, Mimāmsā, Dharmaśāstra, Dhanurveda, Gandharvaveda, and Arthaśāstra must have taxed the pupils sorely. A description of the usual syllabus leaves one with the impression that, (a) it was based more on the principles of exhaustive enumeration of all known arts and science than any creative application of these; and (b) education in

important arts and crafts necessary for the development of the economy was considered to be outside its scope. Since these pursuits did not belong to the sphere of the brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas they were neglected in the curiculla, considered as they were subjects fit for lower classes to be learnt through apprenticeship and family tradition.

We have illustrated above a few of the universal themes of the Purāṇas. These constitute important sources of sociological, cultural, and ethnographic data for a student of tradition and change in Indian society. Our purpose in the present study is to cull out and evaluate such data from the Brahma Purāṇa, for the sociologists, ethnographers, and culturologists interested in the theoretical and historical aspects of their studies.

Before we proceed with this task, we shall review the tradition of Puranic studies and the place of the Brahma Purana in it. (This is done in Part I, Chapter 2. Readers not interested in the technical problems of textual analysis may skip reading this chapter). Having done this, we shall present data on some selected themes and interpret them with a view to understanding the continuities in the process of change in historical Indian society. Accordingly, Ch. 3 deals with the data on social structure; Ch. 4 deals with the twin institutions of marriage and family, with a special reference to the position of women; Ch. 5 describes the economic and cultural conditions during the time of the Brahma Purana; and Ch. 6 deals with the ethnic data. These chapters comprise Part II of the book. Part III deals with data on the beliefs and practices of the Puranic Hindus as depicted in the Brahma Purāņa. Accordingly Ch. 7 presents data on theogony, Ch. 8 data on religious practices, and Ch. 9 describes rules of moral conduct and their sanctions.

## THE BRAHMA PURĀNA

AT THE STARTING of the Indic studies in the last decades of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries the Puranas were regarded as of no historical value on account of the confusion and conglomeration of legendary and historical events in the Puranas as also their peculiar ideas of 'ages' and 'cosmography'. But the help which Col. Speke received in discovering the course of the river Nile in Nubia (Kuśadwipa) from the Puranas and the pioneer studies of Wilson and Pargiter drew the attention of scholars to this form of literature.1 They were considered to be valuable to the historian, and to the student of society and culture. At all events they are of inestimable value from the point of view of the history of religion and comparative belief systems; and on account of that alone deserve far more careful study than has hitherto been devoted to them. They afford us far greater insight into all aspects and phases of Hinduism than any other work. The Brahma Purāņa may be described as a popular encyclopaedia of ancient and medieval Hinduism, covering all aspects-religious, philosophical, historical, personal, social and political.

Further it is well-known that the sūdras and women were not admitted to Vedic studies, nor were they permitted to perform Vedic rites. This was, however, compensated by the Purāṇas which consist of metaphysical truths cast in the mould of suitable legends, amplifying them for clarity and popular comprehension.

Pusalkar A.D.: Presidential address, History section, Proceedings & Transactions of the AIOC, xviii Session, Annamalainagar, December, 1955, Pt. 1, p. 61.

## Purāņa: Meaning, Definition and Characteristics

The etymology of the term Purāṇa is given in the Vāyu Purāṇa meaning that which lives from ancient times.<sup>2</sup> The Matsya also describes them as containing "records of past events." Therefore, in the times of the Brāhmaṇa literature, the term 'Purāṇa' signified 'ancient tale' or 'old narrative' but there was no Purāṇa literature as such in those ancient times.

The earliest references to the word 'Purāṇa' are found in the Atharva Veda but it is doubtful whether Purāṇas meant actual books at the time of the Atharva Veda. The reference in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad indicates that the term 'Purāṇa' means a definite work. But the Āpastamba Dharma Sūtra refers to the existence of the real Purāṇas.

The classical definition of the Purana mentions the following five characteristics, viz: sarga (creation), pratisarga (dissolution and recreation), vamsa (divine genealogies), manvantara (ages of Manu) and vamsānucarita (genealogies of kings).6 None of the existing Puranas completely answers to the definition. Some contain much more than these while others scarcely touch these and deal with other topics, though one is happy to note that the Br. P. (Brahma Purāṇa) fulfils all the five characteristics, viz.: sarga (adh. 103); pratisarga (adhs. 231-233), vamsa and vamsanucarita (adhys. 4, 6-17), and manvantara (adh. 5). Still it must be admitted that the Pancalaksana occupies only a short part of the present Br. P. But the later additions such as dana (gifts), vratas (religious observances), tīrthas (sacred places), śrādha (rites in honour of the manes), etc. forming the bulk of the contents of the present Br. P. were not covered by the above definition and in order to get over this difficulty, the Puranas themselves stated that the

- Yasmātpurā hyanatīdam Purāņam tena hi smrtam, Niruktamasya yo veda sarvapāpaih pramucyate. Vāyu P. 203.
- 3. Purātanasya Kalpasya Purāņāni vidurbudhāḥ, Matsya P. 52.63
- Rcah sāmāni chandāmsi purānam yajuşā saha,
   Ucchişthānjajñire sarve dini devā diviśritāh. P. XI. 7.4.
- Sā hovāca Rgveda, Bhagavodhyeni Yajurvedam Sāmavedamātharvaņam, caturthamitihāsapurāņam Pañcamam Vedānām vedamiti, Chān. Up. VII. 1.2.
- Sargaśca Pratisargaśca Vamśo manvantarāni ca, Vamśyānucaritam caiva Purānam Pañcalakṣanam.

pañcalakșana definition was intended merely for the upa-Purāna (minor Purāņa) and the mahā-Purāņa has to satisfy the dasalaksana definition, which includes these additional topics, viz. vrtti (means of livelihood), rakṣā (incarnations of gods), mukti (final emancipation), hetu (Śiva, unmanifest) and apāśraya (Brahman).7 It should be noted that the Br. P. also treats these topics but even this definition does not fully cover all the aspects of the Purana. The Matsya Purāna provides a definition approaching nearer to the description of the extant Puranas. It states that besides the ten characteristics, the Puranas deal with the glorification of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Sūrya and Rūdra as also with the dissolution and preservation of the world and also with dharma (righteous conduct), artha (economics and polity), kāma (erotics) and moksa (emancipation).8 It should be noted that even this comprehensive definition does not cover the topics like tīrthayātrā and others treated in the Brahma and other Puranas. The Purana tradition has all along been floating and dynamic and with the changes in modes of behaviour, ways of living, customs and beliefs, the Puranas introduced various other subjects to give a picture of life that was lived by people.

#### Need for Critical Editions

In spite of the Puranas having been given their due place of importance in Hindu religious consciousness they did not receive the necessary amount of reverent care and study. Although complete vulgate editions of the Puranas have been published in Bengali, Telugu

7. Sargośyātha visargaśca vṛtti rakṣāntarāṇi ca,

Vamšo vamšyānucaritam samsthā heturapāšrayah. Dašabhirlakşaņairyuktam Purāņam tadvido viduh,

Kecitpañcavidham Brahman mahadalpavyasthayā.

According to H.P. Shastri, these ten characteristics are: creation, details of creation, duties of sentient beings, protection of devotees, ages of Manu, dynasties of kings & Rşis, career of individuals, dissolution of the world, cause of creation and Brahmā—Des. Cat. of Sanskrit MSS., A.S.B., V. Intr., p. LXXVII.

 Brahmavişnvarkarudrānām māhātmyam bhuvanasya ca, Sasamhārapradānam ca Purāne pañcavarnake.
 Dharmaścārthaśca kāmaśca mokşaścaivātra kīrtyate, Sarveşvapi Purāneşu tadviruddham ca yatphalam. Matsya P. 53.66.7. and Nagari characters, critical editions were lacking and there was no initiative in this matter for quite a long time. But the

efforts in this direction are now being made.

The work of preparing a critical edition of the Mahābhārata undertaken by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute some forty years ago is now complete. The Oriental Institute of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda has similarly brought out a critical edition of the Rāmāyaṇa. The University of Gujarat at Ahmedabad, is preparing a critical edition of the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata Purāṇa. The Kāśīrāja Trust of Vārāṇasi has undertaken the task of preparing critical editions of the mahā-Purāṇas, the Matsya, the Brahma and the Vāmana, of which the Vāmana Purāṇa is already published.

## The Brahma-Purāņa and its Place in Puraņic Literature

According to the traditional view, there are eighteen Mahā-Purāṇas and eighteen upa-Purāṇas. Almost all the Purāṇas uniformly mention the eighteen Purāṇas in the same order, viz. Brahma, Padma. Viṣṇu, Vāyu, Bhāgavata, Nārada, Mārkaṇḍeya, Agni, Bhaviṣya, Brahmavaivarta, Varāha, Liṇga, Skanda, Vāmana, Kūrma, Matsya, Garuḍa, and Brahmāṇḍa. The Brahma tops the list and is generally recognized as an ādi-Purāṇa.

From the point of view of the pancalakṣaṇa definition, the Purāṇas can be classified into earlier and later and as the Br. P. treats of many more topics in addition to the five it would be categorized under the section of the later Purāṇas.

According to the classificatory nomenclature based on the preferential treatment to Viśnu, Śiva and other deities the Purānas are respectively styled as sāttvika, tāmasa and rājasa and according to the classification of the *Padma*-Purāna, the Brahma is considered to be a rājasa Purāna<sup>9</sup> as it is dedicated to Gods

9. Mātsyam Kaurmam tathā laingam śaivam skāndam tathaiva ca. Agneyam ca şadetāni tāmasāni nibodha me, Vaiṣnavam Nāradiyam ca tathā Bhāgavatam śubham. Gārudam ca tathā Pādmam Vārāham śubhadarsane, Sāttvikāni Purānāni Viṣñeyāni śubhāni vai. Brahmāndam Brahmavaivartam Mārkandeyam tathaiva ca, Bhaviṣyam vāmanam Brāhmam Rājasāni nibodha me. Padma P. Uttara-CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 konnada as 81-84

other than Viṣṇu and Śiva, but in its present form is mainly a vaiṣṇavite work. According to the Matsya; the sāttvika Purāṇas glorify Viṣṇu, the rājasa, Brahmā and Agni, the tāmasa, Śiva and those that glorify Sarasvatī and Pitṛs as saṃkīrṇa. 10 Basing his division on later Tamil works, Dikshitar also classifies the Purāṇas into five groups: 11 (i) Brahmā—Brahma and Padma; (ii) Sūrya—Brahmavaivarta; (iii) Agni—Agni; (iv) Śiva—Śiva, Skanda, Linga, Kūrma, Vāmana, Varāha, Bhaviṣya, Matsya, Mārkandeya and Brahmānda; and (v) Viṣṇu—Nārada, Bhāgavata, Garuda and Viṣṇu.

It should be stated here that though the Brahma Purāṇa takes its name after Brahmā, it is because Brahmā is one of the main narrators of the Br. P. and not because Brahmā is eulogised in it. On the contrary the Br. P. provides some uncomplimentary stories about Brahmā. In the Śiva-rahasya khaṇḍa of Śamkara-Samhitā a classification of similar nature is given. It is added, however, that the Viṣṇuite Purāṇas teach the identity of Viṣṇu and Śiva, and the Br. P. teaches the identity of Brahmā, Śiva and Viṣṇu and this holds true in the case of the Br. P. which states that Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva are one (130.10).

Dr Haraprasad Shastri divides the Purāṇas into six groups in accordance with the subject matter; (1) the encyclopaedia group; (2) those dealing with tīrthas and vratas; (3) those that underwent two general revisions; (4) the historical group; (5) the sectarian works and (6) the old Purāṇas revived. He places the Br. P. in the third group. In the Purāṇas of the third group, there is addition to the kernel twice—at both the ends. In the Br. P. Brahmā's interlocution with the Rṣis on the mountain is the real Purāṇa. The speech reported by Vyāsa with additions to the Rṣis in his hermitage is the second stage.

Besides the traditional topics of the Purāņa, the Br. P. contains chapters on śrādha, dāna, varņāśramadharma and a large

<sup>10.</sup> Sättvikeşu Puräneşu mähātmyamadhikam hareh, Rajaseşu ca māhātmyamadhikam brāhmano viduh. tadvadagneśca māhātmyam tāmaseşu śivasya ca, samkīrneşu sarasvatyāh pitrnām ca nigadyate. Matsya 53. 68-69

<sup>11.</sup> IHQ, VIII, p. 766.

<sup>12.</sup> Shastri, Haraprasad, JBORS, XIV, pp. 330-337. For a detailed discussion of this topic, vide section II of this chapter.

portion devoted to glorification of the sanctity of holy places. In fact, due to the tīrthamāhātmya it is generally recognized as a tīrtha-Purāṇa. There are more than thirty adhyāyas devoted to Kṛṣṇa-caritra. Moreover, many of the nibandhakārās have drawn upon the Dharmaśāstra material going under the name of the Br. P. whether the passages of the Br. P. quoted by various nibandhakāras occur in the present Br. P. or not constitute a study by itself.

The well-known dictum of Purāṇic lore is contained in the line 'ītihāsapurāṇābhyāṃ vedaṃ samupabṛṃhayet.' It gives us the key to understanding the intimate relationship between the Purāṇas on the one hand and their sources, the Vedas, on the other. The Br. P. narrates many Vedic stories and genealogies. The Br. P. elaborates many upākhyānas contained in the Rg Veda Aitereya Brāhmaṇ, Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇ, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇ and Bṛhaddevatā. The stories of Bali and Vāmana, Ahalyā, Purūravā-Urvaśī episode, Hariścandra and Śunaḥśepa, Kaṭha, Aṛṣṭiṣeṇa, Devāpi, Vṛṣākapi, Saramā, Śaryāti, Kavaśailūṣa, Ātreya and Ātreyī, Ajīgarta, Aṅgirasa, Śākalya and Abhiṣṭuta are narrated in the Br. P.

The story of Hariscandra, Rohita and Sunahsepa given in the Aitereya Brāhmaņa (7.3) and Sānkhāyana Brāhmaņa (15-17) is given with more details in the Br. P. In fact, the similarity which we find in the versions of the Aitereya Brāhmaņa and the Br. P. cannot be found to such an extent in other works.

Thus the encyclopaedic character of the Br. P. shows that it occupies an important place in Purānic literature and provides ample scope for a study of different aspects of Hindu life and society in the Purānic times.

#### The Date of Brahma Purana

The problem of the date of the Purāṇas is very intriguing and controversial. No particular date or period can be assigned to a particular Purāṇa. There are two main difficulties in fixing the date of a Purāṇa: (1) The common chapters that are borrowed by the Purāṇa from earlier Purāṇas; (2) the numerous additions and interpolations inserted in them.

The Br. P. also suffers from the same difficulties since it contains many chapters in common with those of the Vāyu, CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Mārkandeya, Viṣṇu, Harivaṃśa, and Sāmba Purāṇas and Anuśāsana and Śānti Parvans of the Mahābhārata. In the absence of a complete collation of all the chapters from the different Purāṇas it is difficult to deduce as to which is the borrower. Hence it is more difficult to fix the date of these chapters. The second difficulty in the Br. P. is regarding its additions and interpolations. The Gautamī-Māhātmya covering a large portion of hundred adhyāyas is a late addition as can be seen from a description of the MSS. given in the Ānandaśrama edition.

It is a matter of common knowledge that there is not a single date in Sanskrit chronology which is not or has not been disputed. There are different opinions regarding the date of the Br. P. among different scholars.

The Nāradiya Purāṇa gives a list of contents of the apocryphal Br. P. tallying with the contents of the Br. P. which shows that the Br. P. was compiled before the compilation of the Nāradīya P.<sup>13</sup>

 Brahmam Purāņam tatrādau sarval okahitāya ca, Vyāsena vedavidusām samākhyātam mahātmanā. tadvai sarvapurāṇādyam dharmakāmārthamokṣadam, nānākhyāte tihāsādhyam dasasāhasramucyate. tatpūrvabhāge-devānāmasurānānca yatrotpatti prakīrtitah, · Prajāpatinānca, tathā dakṣādīnām munīswarah. tato lokeśvarāsātra sūryasya paramātmanah, vamsanukirtanam brahmam mahapatakanasanam. yatravatarah kathitah paramanandarupinah, srīmato Rāmacandrasya caturvyhāvatārinah. tataśca somavamśasya kirtanam yatra varnitam, Kṛṣṇasya jagadīśasya caritah kalmasāpaham. dvīpānāncaiva sindhūnām varsām vāpyaseşatah, varnanam yatra pātālasvargānānca pradrsyate. narakānām samākhyātam sūryastutika thānakam, Pārvatyaśca tathā janma vivāhaśca nigadyate. Dakşākhyānam tatah proktamekāmrakse travarņanam. pūrvabhāgo yamuditah purāņasyāsya mānada, taduttarabhage-asyotravibhage tu puruşottamavarnanam. visarena samākhyātam tīrthayātrāvidhāratah, atraiva Kṛṣṇacaritam vistarāt samudīritam. varņanam yamalokasya pitrsrāddhavidhistathā. varnāśramānām dharmaśca kīrtitā yatra vistarāt, Vişnudharma yugākhyam pralayasya ca varņanam. brahmanada samuddesah puranasya ca sasanam, etad brahma purānantu bhāgadvayasamarcitam. Varņitam sarvapapaghnam sarvasaukhyapradāyakam, Nāradīya-P. IV. adh. 82 The Nāradīya Purāṇa was written or...revised into its present form during the eighth or at least in the beginning of the ninth century A.D., therefore, the Br. P. which is mentioned in it must have existed before then. Again a comparison of the Puruṣottama-māhātmya contained in the Br. P. and the Nāradīya P. shows that the latter has borrowed from the former. Again chapters 143-145 of the Anuśāsana Parvan also correspond to the chapters 223-225 of the Br. P. and references from the Anuśāsana Parvan, viz. 'idaṃ caivāparaṃ devi Brāhmaṇā samudāhṛtam' (143.16) and 'Pitāmahamukhotsṛṣṭaṃ pramāṇamiti me matiḥ' (143.18) suggest that the Anuśāsan Parvan has borrowed from the Br. P.

The numerous quotations made by Jimūtavāhana, Aparārka. Haradatta, Devaņabhatta, Kullūkabhatta, Madanapāla, Srīdatta Upadhyāya, Candeśvara, Rudradatta and many others are not traceable in the present Br. P. which fact shows that it does not seem to have been composed or compiled earlier than the beginning of the tenth century A.D. And as Hemādri, Śūlapāņi, Vācaspatimiśra, Govindananda and Raghunandana quote verses from it, it cannot be later than A.D. 1200.14 Chapters 214-215 and chapters 216-218 of the Br. P. cannot be later than A.D. 1500 because Govindananda quotes verses from chapters 216 and 218 in his Dānakriyākaumudi. Many other verses of these chapters are common to the original Br. P. because of the numerous quotations made by Madhavācārya only a few are found in the chapters 214, 215 and 217 of the present Br. P. As none of the quotations made by him on general customs, impurity, funeral sacrifices and penance is found in the present Br. P. though it contains chapters on most of these topics, it is certain that Mādhava used the original Brahma Purana and not the present apocryphal one. Chapters 219-222 should be dated earlier than A.D. 1200 because Govindananda quotes numerous verses from chapters 219-221 Śrādhakriyākamudī, and Hemādri draws upon these chapters in his Caturvargacintāmaņi. Thus from the point of view of the various quotations made by different nibandhakāras, it can be surmised that the Br. P. was compiled between the tenth and the twelfth centuries.

As regards the Kṛṣṇa-caritra, Durgashankara Shastri opines that the Kṛṣṇa-caritra of the Br. P. shows an intermediate stage

<sup>14.</sup> Hazra, R.C., Puranie Records on Hindu Rites and Customs, pp. 146-152.

and is later than the Harivamsa and earlier than the Vişņu Purāna. 15

The problem of fixing the date of chapters describing the holy places in Orissa is rather difficult. In the 176th adhyāya, the greatness of Anantavāsudeva is described. Even at present the temple of Ananta-Vāsudeva exists in Bhuvaneśvara at Orissa. The great Bengali Pandit Bhavadevabhaṭṭa constructed it in the eleventh century. It is surprising to note that though the Br. P. describes the creation and greatness of the idol of Anantavāsudeva, it does not refer to its temple. If that temple had been constructed at the time of the compilation of the Br. P., there would have been a reference to it. This shows that the compilation of the Br. P. took place before eleventh century. It is worthy of note that the Kalpataru composed about A.D. 1110-1120 does not describe the Purusottamatīrtha in its tirtha-kāṇḍa though it speaks of a few little known tīrthas like lohārgala, stutasvāmin and kokāmukha.

According to Rajendralal Mitra the oldest temple in Puri is that of Alābukeśvara built by Lalitendu Kesari (A.D. 623-677), the builder of the tower of Bhuvaneśvara. The next oldest is Mārkaṇḍeśvara and next comes the great temple of Jagannātha. According to Manmohan Chakravarti the temple of Jagannatha was built about A.D. 1085-1090 by king Coḍagaṅga. D.C. Sarkar¹¹ points out that the celebrated Oriya chronicle Mādlā Pañji attributes the construction of Puruṣottama Jagannātha not to Coḍagaṅga but to his great grandson Anaṅgabhīma IlI who also installed an image of Puruṣottama in a temple at Vāranasī-Cuttack which was destroyed by Sultan Firoz Shah. Mitra²¹ and Hunter²² note that Anaṅgabhīma wanted to eclipse the grand tower of Bhuvaneśvara and renovated the temple of Jagannātha in Śaka

- 15. Shastri, Durgasankara, Purana Vivecana (in Guj.), p. 135.
- 16. Nagendranath Basu, Viśvakośa. (in Hindi), p. 681.
- 17. Mitra Rajendralal, Antiquities of Orissa, Vol, 1I., p. 112.
- 18. JASB Vol. 67 for 1898, Part I, pp. 328-331, JASB, Vol. 72, 1903, p. 110.
- 19. God Purusottama at Puri-JOR, Madras, Vol. 17, pp. 209-215.
- 20. Elliot and Dowson-History of India, Vol. III, pp. 312-315.
- 21. Mitra, R., op. cit., pp. 109-110.
- 22. Hunter, Orissa, Vol. 1, pp. 100-102.

1119 (i.e. A.D. 1198). We cannot lay much stress on these suppositions because it is not known definitely that there was no Visnu temple at Puri before the time of Anantavarman Codaganga The chapters on Purusottama-ksetra cannot be later than the middle of the twelfth century because many of these are drawn upon by Vācaspati Miśra in his tīrthacintāmaņi, by Sūlapāņi in his dolavātrāviveka and rasayātrāviveka and by Hemādri in his caturvargacintāmani. As to the upper limit of these chapters it should be stated that they could not have been earlier than the end of the ninth century A.D. because there is mention of Sivatemple at the side of the Markandeya-lake which was built in A.D. 800 by Kundala-Kesarin, king of Orissa. From the mention of the sun-temple at Konārka in Br. P. (28 46-7), it may appear that those chapters are of later origin than A.D. 1240 as the suntemple at Konārka was built between A.D. 1240 and 1251 by Narasimhadeva I.23

From the examination of the dates of these various temples it seems probable that these chapters were compiled between the ninth and the twelfth centuries.

There are other sources of finding the date too. In records of the land-grants verses are quoted which according to Pargiter occur only in the Padma (33.26-30), Bhavisya (10.164.22) and Br. P. (155-59). Hence he concludes that these Puranas in which they are found existed before, and even long before the end of the fifth century."4 It is more probable, however, that the verses both in the inscriptions and in the Puranas were taken from earlier Dharmaśāstras. Fleet believes that chronological deductions could be made from the fact that in some of the Puranas, (Br. P. 23.5-10) the planets beginning with the sun are enumerated in the same order in which they appear in the days of the week, which points to the period after A.D. 600.25 However, any arguments of this nature are conclusive only for isolated chapters and not for complete Purana texts. The enumeration of the castes and tribes of India and surrounding countries may also lead to important results regarding chronology. Thus in the Br. P. (19.18) the Pārasīkas are mentioned as an important people. It is well-known

<sup>23.</sup> Hazra, R.C., op. cit., pp. 152-154.

<sup>24.</sup> Pargiter, F.E., JRAS, 1912, pp. 248-255, and AIHT, p. 49.

<sup>25.</sup> JRAS, 1912, pp. 1046-1053.

that the Persians rose in power in A.D. 222 and continued to rule in the Middle East till they were overthrown in a single battle in 634 near Bagdad by the Mohammedans. They often came in contact with India and Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṃśa finds them in the neighbourhood of Aparānta, i.e. Gujarat and Sindhu, and Kālidāsa's age is the second half of the fifth and the first half of the sixth centuries (450 to 550). From this it may be inferred that the speeches of Vyāsa would be earlier.

Brahmā's speech begins with a more elaborate description of the nations and tribes in Ch. 27, verses 44 and 64, and among them he mentions Sakas, Yavanas and Pahlavas, and Noldke says, when these are mentioned together in any Sanskrit work the presumption is that it is written between the second century B.C. and the second century A.D., when they played an important part in the history of the Middle East. In that case Brahmā's speech should be placed in these centuries, i.e., before the speeches of Lomaharşana. But we are in a position to fix the time of Brahma's speech more precisely. The Sakas are placed in the speech in the Deccan, the words used are Daksināpatha and Daksinātya, and we know, the Khaharātas who were the Śakas, ruled the country around Nasik where they have left many inscriptions which are placed by scholars during this long period, by some at the end of the second century B.C. and by others at the beginning of the second century A.D. So Brahmā's speech may be placed during the period of Indian history when the three Brahmana dynasties of Sungas, Kanvas and Satakarnis held their sway. Dr. Haraprasad Shastri prefers the early part of this period as Pāradas and Pahlavas are both mentioned in the speech and Pārada is the earlier and Pahlava is the later name of Parthians in Sanskrit.26

The Gautamī-māhātmya (Chs. 70-175) is a distinct work by itself and it was attached to the Br. P. later than the chapters on Orissa, for the Nāradīya P. (I. 92) which gives the contents of the present Br. P. including the māhātmyas of Puruṣottamakṣetra, and Ekāmarakṣetra does not mention the Gautamī-māhātmya.<sup>27</sup> In the first century the Sātavāhana kings ruled in the Deccan. The kings Puḍamāyī, Uṣavadāta and Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and

<sup>26.</sup> Haraprasad Shastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts, A.S.B., V, Introduction, pp. XCIII ff.

<sup>27.</sup> Hazra, R.C., op. cit., p. 155.

other kings got the epithets like 'dvijavarakuţuṃbavivardhana', 'brahmaṇya' and others. From the inscriptions obtained of that period, it seems that some tīrthas like 'Rāmatīrtha' had become famous. It can be easily inferred that together with the rise of the Brāhmaṇadharma, the various tīrthas must have come into existence and the various tīrthamahātmyas must have been compiled in order to eulogize the tīrthas. The name of one of the Sātavāhana queens was 'Gautamī' and some of the kings also became famous as 'Gautamīputra'. It is not improbable that the Purāṇic Brāhmins favouring Rūpaka style must have given the name Gautamī-māhātmya to the eulogy of the river Godāvari.<sup>28</sup> Dr Hazra believes that the Gautamī-māhātmya does not seem to have been earlier than the tenth century A.D. and adds that as no author has been found to draw upon this māhātmya, it is impossible to say anything definitely.<sup>29</sup>

The mention of incarnations is considered to be one of the criteria for deciding the age. As regards the mention of incarnations, the position of the Br. P. is rather strange. In it the earlier and later stages are mixed up. Upto the adh. 212, there is a mention of four incarnations, viz. Varāha, Vāmana, Nṛṣimha and Kṛṣṇa. In the Rāma story, Rāma is described as the son of king Dasaratha but he is not called an incarnation of Vișnu there. Then from the adh. 180-212 the Kṛṣṇa caritra is described exactly like the Vișnu P. and in the adh. 213, the incarnation of Pauskaraka, Varāha, Nīsimha, Vāmana, Dattātreya, Jamadagneya, Rāma, Dāśarathī Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Kalkin are mentioned. Buddha's name does not appear, nor do the names of the Matsya and the Kurma, but Dattatreya and Brahma appear instead of them. This list is given in the interlocution between Vyasa and the Rsis at Kurukşetra which is something like a commentary on the speeches of Brahma, i.e. in the second stage of the development of the Br. P. The origin of the list of ten incarnations now current can be traced to Ksemendra in the 11th century in the same order and to the Visnupura cards with slight variations in the order in the end of the 7th and beginning of the 8th century. But here is a list of nine incarnations without Buddha and Kurma. It must be several centuries older.30

<sup>28.</sup> Nagendranath, Vasu, Viśvakośa (in Hindi), Vol. 13, pp. 681 ff.

<sup>29.</sup> Hazra, R.C., op. cit., p. 155.

<sup>30.</sup> Haraprasad Shastri, op. cit., pp. xciii. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Shri M.R. Kale in his introduction to the edition of Kumāra-sambhava states that the account of the Kumārasambhava closely follows that of the Śīvapurāṇa and Kālidāsa seems to have drawn considerably upon the original both in points of fact and language. In a few places he follows the Br. P. and the Kalki but later on he changes his opinion and states that a great poet like Kālidāsa is not likely to borrow either the exact language or the ideas of such Purāṇas.

There are many similarities e.g. Kumārasambhava 4.4 runs parallel to Matsya 164-256 and Br. P. 38.8. All these three works use the word 'vilalāpa'. Again the stories of Dakṣa insulting Satī, Satī giving up her body and taking birth at Himālaya's house—are available in the present Br. P., and the Kumārasambhava 1.21 is similar to Vāyu 30. 50-55 and Br. P. 34. 20-25. But the Br. P. differs from the Kumārasambhava in the adhs. 34-38. Thus Kāmadeva is burnt after Śiva's marriage and as a result of the bewailings of Ratī, the boon of the rebirth of Kāmadeva as Kṛṣṇa's son is granted by Lord Śiva (38. 10-11). The story of the Br. P. here seems to be later than Vāyu Purāṇa and older than Matsya Purāṇa.

The Brahmapurānic list of Rāma's ancestors,—Daśaratha, Aja, Raghu, Dilīpa—agrees with that of Kālidāsa. The drama *Pratimā* of Bhāsa also gives the same list.

After analyzing the various parts of the Br. P. Dr Hazra has come to the following conclusions regarding the date of the Br. P.

The Date of composition or rather compilation of the Br.P.

Ch. 25 Chs. 28 (1-8), 42 (35 to the end) 43-69, 70 (1-11), 176-177

Ch. 28 (9 to the end), chs. 29-41 and ch. 42 (1-34)

Chs. 214-218

Between A.D. 900 and 1200

Spurious (Between A.D. 900 and 1150) Earlier than the chs. of the next group.

C. between A.D. 950 and 1200.

Not later than A.D. 1500, probably the same date as that of the composition of the present Br. P.

Chs. 219-222 Chs. 223-231

Earlier than A.D. 1200.

Not known definitely. May have come from the same date as that of compilation of the present Br. P.

Chs. 70-175

Not known. Probably not earlier than A.D. 10th century.31

From the above discussion, it is clear that it is difficult to assign a general date to the Br. P. because the analysis shows that different portions of the Br. P. belong to different periods and thus the date of the Br. P. will have to be spread over a very long period. Professor V.R.R. Dikshitar32 surmises that "the composition of the Puranas is to be spread over a long time covering several centuries from the epoch of the age of the Gupta and later. The Puranas then constitute a work of various periods in succession. For example one and the same Purana may have been spread up over a long period of some centuries. The kernel of the Purana may have been born in earlier times, and its contents could be amplified in the course of the following centuries.

Thus the major portion of the Br. P. seems to have been compiled between the period of the ninth and the twelfth centuries though some portions, as stated above, belong to an earlier period.33

## Place of Origin

As regards the place of composition of the Br. P., it should be stated that just as the whole Br. P. does not seem to have been composed by one hand and in one period, similarly it does not seem to have been composed at one place.

The then busy centres of religious activities were perhaps the locale of the Puranic compilations. The chief places of pilgrimage were often thronged by a large number of people from all parts of India and were the best venue for the propagation of this literature. From the detailed glorification of certain places, we may venture to

31. Hazra R.C., op. cit., pp. 186-187.

32. Dikshitar V.R.R., PI, Vol. 1, Introduction, pp. xvi-xvii. Refer also Kane P.V., HDS., Vol. V, Pt. II: vide my article on 'The date of Brahma-Purana', Pade Shastri felicitation volume, 1964, Baroda.

33. For a detailed analysis of the form of the Br. P. to establish its date, vide my article on 'Brahma-Purāņa, a formal study', Journal of Oriental

Institute, Baroda, 1968, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1 & 2.

conjecture that a particular version of the Purāņa sprang up in that centre.34

Many chapters of the Br. P., as stated above, correspond to those of the other Puranas, therefore, the place of the composition of those chapters could be decided along with the decision of the place of composition of those other Puranas. From among the remaining chapters it is clear that the Gautamī-māhātmya was composed by somebody living about the river Godavari, since it betrays close acquaintance with the minor tirthas situated on the bank of the river Godāvarī. Similarly the chs. 28-70 and 176-178 on the holy places of Orissa also form one group and seem to have been composed by one who is well acquainted with Orissa. Chapter 25 gives a long list of the names of holy places chiefly of northern India. Though, it mentions the Viraja-kṣetra and the Indradyumna-saras; the names of Purusottama-ksetra and Ekamrakaksetra are conspicuous by their absence. Moreover, this chapter is wholly unconnected with those preceding and following it. So it seems to have been interpolated by someone living outside Orissa.35 The remaining chapters are not important from the point of view of fixing the place of composition inasmuch as they deal with the general religious topics like Karma-vipāka (216-218, 223-225), hells (214-215), worship of Visnu (226-229), accounts of the dvapara and the future ages (231), there are verses forming introduction of some topics (1. 1-20, 26, 27, 1-10, 235) and forming the concluding chapter of the whole Purana (245).

In ch. 27.43, it is stated that the place to the north of Sahyādri where flows the Godāvarī is the most charming place in the whole world. This is the opening of Brahmā's speech and it shows his predilection of that spot. The work may have been written here.

Saura-Purāṇa, an upa-Purāṇa of the Brahma Purāṇa

The Saura-Purāṇa—Ānandāśrama edition—containing 3899 ślokas claims to be a supplement of the Brahma Purāṇa. It states that the Br. P. is the first among the Purāṇas containing ten thousand

<sup>34.</sup> Dikshitar, V.R.R., op. cit., Vol. I, Introduction, P. XV.

<sup>35.</sup> Hazra, R.C., op. cit., p. 152.

Idam brahmapurāņasya khilam sauramanuttamam, Samhitādvayasamyuktam puņyam sivakathāsrayam. Saura, P. 9.13.

slokas and telling many holy stories (Saura P. 9.6). One who gives Brahma Purāṇa in dāna becomes great in the Brahmaloka after getting freedom from all the sins.

The Saura Purāņa is of great value as regards the knowledge of Saivism, especially of the Linga-cult and its main purpose is to glorify god Siva. Thus from the point of view of contents, there does not seem to be any resemblance between the Saura Purāṇa and the present Br. P.

The Br. P. itself is considered to be an upa-Purāṇa by Hazra who bases his belief on the information of Narasiṃha Vajapeyin, a nibaṇdha writer of Orissa.<sup>37</sup> But with due deference to Dr Hazra, it should be said that the Br. P., as stated above, fulfills all the requirements of a mahā-Purāṇa and there is little reason for its being considered an upa-Purāṇa. Moreover, the Br. P. is never mentioned in the list of the upa-Purāṇas, and is always considered as a mahā-Purāṇa.

#### The Text of Brahma Purana

The formal study of the Br. P. leads us to two opposite possibilities: (1) of its being so bulky that it appears to be a conglomeration of the mahā-Purāṇa and upa-Purāṇa, and (2) of its being so small as to become only a handbook dealing with religion in its original form and later becoming a collection of various chapters borrowed from different sources.<sup>38</sup>

In brief, the material available at present under the name of the Br. P. is of three types: (1) the information in the printed editions, (2) the information available in the catalogues and (3) the quotations from Br. P. cited by different works.

(1) In the form of printed editions: At present four editions are available of the Br. P., viz., (a) The Ānandāśrama edition, (b) The Vangavāsi edition, (c) The Venkateśvara edition, (d) The Gurumandala series edition. The Ānandāśrama edition on which the

37. Vājapeyin Narasimha—

"brahamapurāņam ca kalpatarau yad-vākyānyādṛtāni, tad vyatiriktam brahmapurāṇam puruṣottama-māhātmyopabṛmhitam hemādry-ādiniban-dha-parigṛhitam siṣṭa—parigṛahād eva pṛamāṇam, tad apyupapuraṇantaragatam eva"—Nityācārapradīpa, p. 19.

38. For an extensive study of this problem, see my article entitled 'Brahma-Purāṇa, a formal study'. JOI, Baroda, 1968, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1 and 2.

present study is based consists of 245 adhyayas and is prepared from six MSS - ka, kha, ga, gha, na and ca.39 The MS 'ka' contains all the adhyayas, the MS 'kha' and 'ga' omit the Gautamī-māhātmva whereas the MSS 'na' and 'ca' contain only the Gautamī-māhātmya. Again the MSS 'ka' and 'kha' join the first and the second adhyāyas of the Ānandāśrma ed.; the MS 'ka' misses the first 10 ślokas of the 70th adhyāya, the MSS. 'ka' and 'ga' omit the nineteenth adhyaya, The MS 'ga' adds many ślokas in adh. 13 and omits 191. 27-33, the MS 'gha' begins the Gautamīmāhātmya with the mañgala ślokas and the MSS. 'gha' and 'ca' miss the ślokas 81-85 of the adh. 85. These are the major peculiarities of each MS. The variant readings and minor peculiarities of every MS have been noted in the footnotes of the Anandasrma ed., but as they are too numerous to be noted here they are not taken into consideration. Moreover, they are more useful in the preparation of the critical edition of the Br. P. (b) The Vangavāsi Press edition (Calcutta) is similar chapter by chapter to the Anandasrama Edition. There are occasional variations in readings and numbers of verses in the corresponding chapters, but these variations are only a few and not important for our purpose. (c) The Venkatesvara Steam Press edition is available in two forms: (i) It contains the whole Brahma Purāņa but instead of placing the Gautamī-māhātmya after the adh. 69 as in the An. Ed., it is placed at the end. (ii) The other edition of the Venkatesvara Steam Press contains only the Gautamī-māhātmya. It consists of one hundred and five adhyāyas and resembles the Ānandāśrma ed. to a great extent. The following are its main peculiarities. It joins the adhyāyas 76 and 77 of the Anandasrma ed. into one and forms the 7th adh. Again after the adhs. 107-46, 108-82 and 108.118 of the Anandasrma ed., the Venkateśvara ed. adds many ślokas after adhs. 38.21, 38.87a and 83-125 respectively. Besides these, there are many other minor differences which should be carefully considered at the time of preparing a critical edition of the Br. P. (d) The Gurumandala series, Calcutta, has brought out a new edition of the Br. P. which is based on the Anandasrma ed.

- (2) Information from the catalogues: According to the catalogues catalogonom by Theodor Aufrecht, the various MSS of the Brahma Purāṇa contain the following topics:
- 39. For details regarding their complete names, vide abbreviations.

- (i) Ŗșipañcamīvrata
- (ii) Kalāhasti-māhātmya
- (iii) Kodaņdamaņdana
- (iv) Campāşaşthivratakathā
- (v) Nāsikopākhyāna or Naciketopākhyāna
- (vi) Prayāga-māhātmya
- (vii) Kşetrakhande Mallari-mahatmya
- (viii) Māyāpuri-māhātmya
  - (ix) Rāmasahasranāma
  - (x) Lalitākhaņda
  - (xi) Lalitopākhyāna
- (xii) Venkaţagiri-māhātmya
- (xiii) Sarasvatīstotra
- (xiv) Hastigiri-māhātmya
- (xv) Janmāstamīvrata
- (xvi) Buddhāşţamīvrata
- (xvii) Maņimaņdapa-māhātmya
- (xviii) Lakşmīsahasranāma
  - (xix) Sūryacandravratakathā
  - (xx) Hastigiri-māhātmya
- (xxi) Godāvari-māhātmya
- (xxii) Gautamīgangā-māhātmya
- (xxiii) Gautamī-māhātmya
- (xxiv) Purușottama-māhātmya
- (xxv) Karmavipāka-samhitā
- (xxvi) Mārtaņda-māhātmya
- (xxvii) Bhāratavarşa-vivaraņa

The first twenty topics are not met with in the present Br. P. whereas some of the topics resembling serial Nos. XXI to XXVII are there.

R.L. Mitra describes a Br. P. which consists of two khaṇḍas, pūrva and ūttara, and is quite different from our present Brahma Purāṇa. As it mentions the history of Rādhā, her worship, Tulasī's marriage with Śaṅkhacūḍa, the history of Manasā etc., it must be a very late work.<sup>40</sup>

40. Mitra, A Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the Library of His Highness The Maharaja of Bikaner, pp. 187-9.

According to Shri Haraprasad Shastri, the Br. P. in Catalogue No. 3450 seems to be a different recension from that of the Ān. ed. The Gautamī-māhātmya is not there and the last chapters on Sāmkhya and Yoga with the interlocution between Vasiṣṭha and Karālajanaka are not there. Chapter 19 of the Ānandāśrma ed. has become ch. 17 coming at the end.

The next number begins as usual but ends with the end of Kṛṣṇa-caritra, ch. 212 of the Ānandāśrama edition.

There are three other compilations called—Buddhāṣṭamīvrata (No. 3452), Mārgaśirṣa-ekādaśīvrata (No. 3453) and Kārtika-māhāt-mya (No. 3453a) which though not found in the Ānandāśrama ed. are said to draw its authority from the Br. P.<sup>41</sup>

The descriptive catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS in the Tanjore Maharaja Sartoji's Sarasvati Mahal Library, Tanjore, informs us that the Br. P. was printed at Bombay in 1906; and at Chidambaram with a translation by V.S. Venkatarama Shastri in 1908. Moreover, the Prayāga-māhātmya, Srimūṣṇa-māhātmya and Hastigiri-māhātmya also form a part of it.

In some MSS the māhātmya of the sacred river Balajā occurs as the uttarakhanda of the Br. P.42

The present study does not aim at representing an exhaustive examination of all the MSS firstly, because the whole information regarding all the MSS is not at the disposal of the present writer. Moreover it is not necessary also. But this material shows that a critical edition of the Br. P. is a highly felt necessity as it would decide whether all these māhātmyas and other topics belonged to the original Purāṇa or not.

After collecting the information regarding the Br. P. from various catalogues, let us now see as to what information can be gathered about the Br. P. from the various nibandha works.

- (3) Information in the form of quotations in different works: Almost all the nibandha writers have drawn profusely upon the Br. P. was, therefore, one of the most authoritative works in the whole range of Puranic literature. The following nibandhakaras provide quotations from the Br. P.
  - (i) Śūlapāni's Dolayātrāviveka and Rasayātrāviveka
  - (ii) Vācaspatimiśra's Tattvacintāmaņi
- 41. Haraprasad Shastri, A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts.
- 42. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, pp. 533 f.

- (iii) Govindānanda's Dānakriyākaumudī and Śrāddhakriyākaumudī
- (iv) Raghunandana's Smrtitattva and Yātrātattva
- (v) Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaņi
- (vi) Nīlakaņţhabhaţţa's Mayūkhas
- (vii) Madhavācārya
- (viii) Jīmūtavāhana
  - (ix) Aparārka
  - (x) Haradatta's commentary of the Gautamadharmāsūtra
  - (xi) Aniruddhabhatta
- (xii) Ballālasena
- (xiii) Kullūkabhatta
- (xiv) Madanpāla
- (xv) Śrīdatta Upādhyāya
- (xvi) Candesvara
- (xvii) Rudradhara
- (xviii) Narasimha Vājpeyin's Nityācārapradīpa
  - (xix) Lakşmīdharabhaţţa's Krtyakalpataru.

Some of the verses quoted in the works from i-vii are traceable in the present Br. P. whereas those quoted in works from viii-xx are not.

The quotations made by the nibandha writers show that it was a rich store of Smrti materials. The multifarious Smrti topics dealt with in this Purana, appear to have been the following: (a) The duties of the āśramas, (b) General customs and daily duties (āhnika), (c) Eatables and non-eatables, (d) Rules of diet, (e) Purification of things, (f) Purification of the body, (g) Funeral sacrifices, (h) Impurity, (i) Bath, (j) Gifts, (k) Duties of women, (l) Different kinds of sins, (m) Penances, (n) Vows (vrata), (o) Observances in the different months (māsa-kārya), (p) Śrāddhas, and though many of the verses are not common, the present Br. P. also is an encyclopaedic work containing most of the above Smrti-topics. Thus we see that a vast quantity of material goes under the name of the Br. P. most of which is not available in the present form which creates doubts regarding the authenticity of the present Br. P., raises problems as to whether the Br. P. which contained all that material and which is now not available is some work completely different from the present one, whether there is

some connection between the two or whether they are two completely independent works. It also leads to the necessity of a careful scrutiny of the Br. P. in its present form. When the Br. P. is viewed in its present form, it seems that most of its chapters have been borrowed from various other works; and there is only a small portion which it can claim as its own. It is a conglomeration of chapters mainly corresponding to those of the Viṣṇu, Mārkaṇdeya Sāmba, Vāyu, Harivaṃśa Purāṇas and the Anuśāsanā and the Śānti-Parvans of the Mahābhārata. If these chapters are left out of consideration those which remain untraced are unimportant and insignificant in number. They are as follows:

Br.	1 (verses 1-20)
	18 (verses 1-6)
	25
	26
	27 (1-10)
	28-38
	41-70 (1-11)
	176-178
	214-225
	216-217 (Partly)
	218
	219, 220 (verses 1-21, 30-32
	43-68, 100-101a, 102b-104,
	120b-212)
	226-229
	231

- = Introductory verses
- = Enumeration of the topics treated of in ch. 1-17.
- = Names of holy places
- = For introducing ch. 27 on Geography
- Gods and holy places in Orissa
- = On hells
- On the result of actions done, karma-vipāka
- = On śrāddha
- = On the worship of Vișnu
- Accounts of the Dvāpara and future ages

Thus from this point of view, the builk of the Br. P. seems to be very small. As regards the common chapters it is difficult to deduce which of them are the original but as Dr. Hazra says, the quotations made by the early authors from the Mārkaṇdeya, Viṣṇu, and Vāyu Purāṇas show that the chapters borrowed by the Br. P. have been occurring in these Purāṇas from a time earlier than that of the compilation of the present Br. P. As to the chapters common

to the Vāyu, Harivaṃśa and Brahma<sup>41</sup> Purāṇas a comparison of them proves the indebtedness of the Br. P. to Harivanisa. As to the chapters common to the Br. P. and the Mahābhārat the priority of those of the latter is unquestionable. 45 A comparison of the chs. 29-30 of the Br. P. to the corresponding chapters of the Samba Purana shows that the Br. P. is the borrower. 16

# The Contents of Brahma Purāna

A formal analysis of Br. P. thus shows that the bulk of the original Br. P. is too small, but as the present work is based on the whole text with all its borrowed and non-borrowed chapters, we shall describe the contents of Br. P. as found in the edition used for the present study, i.e. Anandāśrama ed. The present Br. P. contains two hundred and forty-five adhyāyas containing in all 13,783 slokas.

The contents of the Br. P. can be divided into the following six units: (i) Pañcalakṣaṇas, (ii) Geography (iii) Holy places in Orissa, (iv) Gautamī-māhātmya, (v) Kṛṣṇa caritra, and (vi) religion and philosophy.

## (i) Pañcalaksanas

This unit consists of twenty adhyāyas, i.e. 1-17, and 231-233. Its main topic is to treat the five main characteristics of the Purāṇa, viz. sarga. pratisarga, vamsa, vamsānucarita, and manvantara. The adhs. 1-3 treat of sarga, the adhs. 231-233 of pratisarga, the adhs. 4, 6-17 of vamsa and vamsanucarita. Both these characteristics are not treated separately but are joined together; and the adh. 5 treats of the manyantaras.

These chapters are borrowed from Harivamsa and Visnu Purana. Only the first twenty verses of the first adh. and the adh. 231 belong to the Br. P. itself. As regards the first adh. the first twenty introductory verses are added by the compiler himself, the verses 21-30 are similar to those of Vișņu I. 2.1-8 and the verses 31 to the end are similar to Harivamsa 1. 1.19 to the end. It seems

<sup>44.</sup> Vā. 62, 72b-98, Hv 1, 2, 7-27 & Br. 2, 7-28a; Vā 62, 99-193, Hv, I, 4, 26 ff. to I, 6, 44a, & Br. 4, 19-110. Vā 63, I-11, Hv 8, 44b-54 & Br. 4, 111-122.

<sup>45.</sup> Hazra R.C., op. cit., pp. 149-150.

<sup>46.</sup> For details vide Hazra R.C.; Studies in Upapuranas, p. 83.

more likely that all the three, viz., Brahma, Hari and Viṣṇu have borrowed from one source.

It seems that the five main characteristics which originally constituted the entire contents of a Purana are not given much importance in the Br. P. i.e., the Br. P. does not possess the nature of the Purana as it was originally believed to be but it furnishes a later phase inasmuch as the topics other than these five lakşanas, viz. tīrthamāhātmya, worship of gods, srāddha, etc., are dealt with at a greater length, whereas the pancalaksanas are dealt with very briefly. As regards repetitions, the story of Dakşa having many daughters is given in the adhs. 2 and 3 but in the adhs. 2.46-49, the exact number of the daughters is not given whereas in adh. 3.25, Dakşa is said to have sixty daughters. Moreover, the story of Daksa having sons is added (3.11 ff.). Again, the story of Prthu which is given in short in the adh. 2.20-25 is given at length in the adh. 4, thus making the adhyāya completely independent. It gives all the details about Prthu and adds the story of milching the earth. Moreover, the adh. 4 contains chronological disorder too. Thus it begins with the story of how Prthu was assigned the kingdom of the world by Prajāpati but in the verse 19, the munis unnecessarily raise a question and want to know more about Prthu's birth and how he milched the earth thus raising occasion for the narration of the adhyaya. Again in the adh. 2.51-53, the munis raise some questions the answers to which are not given anywhere and the reply of Lomaharsana which follows these questions does not at all pertain to the questions.

Again the story of the city of Vārāṇasī being burnt by the curse of the sage Nikumbha is given in the adh. 11.40-54 and is again repeated in adh. 13.80-85.

The story of Jahnu's drinking the water of the river Ganges given in the adh. 10.15-20 is again repeated in adh. 13.80-85. The story of Kālayavana's birth at the end of the adh. 14 seems to be irrelevant and here some ślokas which form the connecting link between the previous portion consisting of the genealogies and this portion seem to be missing. The ślokas 48-56 cannot be easily explained and the ślokas 46b-47a do not fit in with the previous ślokas.

The story of the Syamantaka jewel given in the adh. 16-17 though in continuation of the genealogy of Soma-vamsa seems to start abruptly. The Br. P. starts the Kṛṣṇa-caritra with the birth of

Kṛṣṇa in the later part of the Br. P., i.e. in adhs. 180-212 but here Kṛṣṇa is represented as a grown-up man hence the chronological order is not given any attention. As regards the Syamantaka story, though it is believed to have been borrowed from *Harivamsa* it seems to follow in its version the  $V\bar{a}yu$  (96.11 ff) more.

## (ii) Geography

This unit consists of ten adhyāyas, viz 18-27. In it the description of the whole world together with its oceans and continents, of the Pātālas, hells and the other three worlds, viz. Bhuḥ, Bhuvaḥ and Svaḥ, of Jambūdvīpa, Bhāratavarṣa and its tīrthas is given. The Purāṇas served an important function in providing geographical information by describing the greatness of various holy places. The Br. P. describes the Bhuvanakośa but does not follow the Kūrmavibhāga system as is given by the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa and others These chapters are mainly borrowed from Viṣṇu and Mārkaṇḍeya as stated above.

The adh. 19 in this unit describes the Jambūdvīpa and seems to interrupt the lengthy description of geography by its brevity. Moreover, it is missing in MSS. 'ka' and 'ga' which give a more emphatic reason for its being added afterwards. Again the adh. 25 gives a long list of the names of holy places and is wholly unconnected with those preceding and following it. Chapter 26 is meant for serving as an introduction to ch. 27 dealing with the geography of India. It, therefore, seems to have been written at the time when ch. 27 was borrowed from the Mārkandeya Purāṇa. In short, the adhs. 18-27 do not contain any story element but only describe the geographical aspect in the general style of the Purāṇas.

## (iii) Holy places in Orissa

This unit consists of thirty-six adhyāyas, viz. 28-70 and 176-178 and describes the holy places in Orissa. According to Dr Hazra it should be divided into four groups: (i) chs. 28 (1-8), 42 (35 to the end), 44-(9, 70 (1-11) and 176-178 on Puruṣottama kṣetra or Purī sacred to Viṣṇu. (ii) chs. 28 (9 ff.) — 33 on Koṇārka sacred to the Sun-god. (iii) chs. 34-41 on Ekāmra-kṣetra or Bhuvaneśvara sacred to Śiva and (iv) ch. 42. (1-34) on Virajakṣetra or Jajpore sacred to Devī.

Hunter in his History of Orissa describes it as follows:

"Orissa is divided into four great regions of pilgrimage. From the moment the pilgrim passes the Vaitaraṇī river on the high road forty miles north-east of Cuttack, he treads on holy ground. On the southern side of the river rises shrine after shrine to Siva, the all-destroyer. To the south-east is the region of pilgrimage sacred to the sun, looking down in desolate beauty across the Bay of Bengal. To the south-west is the region of pilgrimage dedicated to Siva, with its city of temples, which once clustered, according to native tradition, to the number of 7000 around the sacred lake. Beyond this, nearly due south, is the region of pilgrimage beloved of Viṣṇu, known to every hamlet throughout India, and to every civilised nation on earth, as the abode of Jagannātha, the lord of world."47

The description of Orissa given in the Br. P. tallies with the above.

It should be noted that the Br. P. refers to the pool of Markandeya (56.73), the vata tree (60.18), the sea (60.10), the Indradyumna pool (63.2-5), the idols of Kṛṣṇa, Samkaraṣaṇa and Subhadrā (57.22, 23, 58), Guņdicāyātrā (ch. 66), Purușottamakṣetra (177.16, 17, 24, 25) the special snāna festival of Jagannātha on the full moon day of Jyestha (ch. 65), Konārka (ch. 28), Damanabhañjikā (28.53), Ekāmraka (34.40), (41.11), Bindusaras (41.53), Sivakşetra (41.93), Kapilatīrtha (41.91), Virajakşetra (42.1-12), Vaitaranī river (42.4), the eight tirthas, viz. Kapila, Gograha, Soma, Ālābu, Mṛtyuñjaya, Krodatīrtha, Vāsuka and Siddhakeśvara (42.6, 7), Virajā-matā (42.1.11), Pañcatīrtha, (43.12), (63.1), (61.63-71), Jagannātha (42.37), Utkalakṣetra (42.44-49), king Indradyumna (43.89), Nyagrodha (45.53), story of Indranīla, idol of lord Purusottama covered with sand and shrubs (45.71-89), Indradyumnasaras (51.29), Nṛsimha-worship (Adh. 58), Mārkaņdeyavaṭa (60.11), Dolayātrā (63.18), and Acyutamandira (63.21). All these references are important and significant for the history and religious sanctity of Orissa. Moreover, the story regarding the idols of Krsna, Balarāma and Subhadrā are also important for the traditional history of Orissa.48

<sup>47.</sup> Hunter, History of Orissa, Vol. 1, p. 82.

<sup>48.</sup> For the different versions of this story, vide Sandesara B.J. Jangannathapuri and Orissa, (in Guj.), pp. 36 ff.

Again the Br. P. states that the holy Purusottamaksetra forbids all the wranglings between Saivas and Bhāgavatas (Br. P. 56.64-66 and 69-70). In the description of Jagannātha temple, a cakra is mentioned and the Br. P. also refers to it. [Br. P. 51.70-71, cf. also Nāradīva P. (uttara) 55.10-11.]

Regarding the adhyāyas 27-43 describing Sun-worship, Dr Hazra states that the chapters on Sun-worship in the Br. P. are borrowed from the Sāmba Purāṇa. That most of the verses of the adhs. 29-33 of the Br. P. originally belonged to some other source is proved according to him by the fact that though in the Br. P. (28.5) Brahmā begins, at the request of the sages to describe the place of Koṇāditya or Koṇārka situated in Utkala (or Oṇḍradeśa) on the northern shore of the salt-ocean, in chs. 29-33 he is found to describe Mitravana situated on the bank of the Candrasarit mostly in the same verses as found in the Sāmba Purāṇa and the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa no mention being made by him of Koṇāditya, Utkala or of the ocean in these chapters.

The story element again starts in the adh. 32. Here Aditi, Dakşa's daughter prays for a son and thus in connection with Sūrya-worship, the link of the genealogy of Dakşa's family is established.

The story of Sūrya-Samjñī given in the adh. 6 is again repeated in the adh. 32-48. It is again repeated in the adh. 89, the name Samjñā is changed to Uṣā and the names Viṣṭi and Tāpi are added in the progeny of Sun. The minor variations in the stories are not very important.

After treating the Sūrya-worship in the adhs. 28-33, the story of Siva is introduced in the adh. 34 all of a sudden with no connection to the adh. 33. The case of the Siva story appears strange as it is narrated without any inquiry on the part of munis but the case becomes explicable when the underlying purpose, i.e. to describe the Bhuvaneśvara or Ekāmrakṣetra among the sacred places of Orissa is taken into consideration. In the adh. 34.27-33 the story of Dakṣa's birth is given which was narrated in the adh. 2.34-47, the difference being that here it is said that Dakṣa was reborn as a result of lord Siva's curse whereas the story of the curse is not given in the adh. 2. Moreover, here, i.e. in the adh. 34.39, the selfborn body of Dakṣa in his previous birth is referred to.

The adh. 176 and the following are connected with the adh. 69 as they treat of one and the same topic, viz. holy places in Orissa but they seem to be wrongly separated by the Gautamīmāhātmya inserted between them.

The adh. 176 containing the greatness of Vāsudeva and the adh. 177 containing the greatness of Purusottamaksetra seem to be added afterwards. The story of Kandu in the adh. 178 seems to have been added later than chs. 176-177.<sup>49</sup> This story is told by Vyāsa, whereas in all other chapters on Orissa, Brahmā is the speaker. Moreover, the story is inserted without any previous hints, the connecting link being provided by the statement that the sage Kandu lived at the Purusottamaksetra (178. 1, 2).

#### (iv) Gautamī-māhātmya

This unit consists of one hundred and five adhyāyas, viz. 70-175 all of them eulogizing various holy places situated on the bank of the river Godāvarī. It forms an independent book (pustakaṃ) by itself. Its style also differs from the general style of the Br. P. In each of its adhyāyas, it takes up one tīrtha and relates the story of the origin of the name given to the tīrtha, after its importance is described and the merit of visiting it is given at the end. This is the general style of this unit though there are variations.

The idea of visiting tīrthas was not prevalent in the Vedic period. It came into existence in the time after the Upaniṣadas. On account of the idea that it was very important for a man to visit holy places, the need for lauding the sanctity of the holy places came into existence. This may be compared to modern propaganda for tourism. Thus the Mahābharat devotes a great portion to the description of tīrthas though it seems to have been added afterwards. In the Br. P., the five chief characteristics of the Purāṇa are dealt with very shortly and mainly it is a tīrtha-Purāṇa.

Apart from eulogizing the sanctity of the river Godāvarī, the Gautamī-māhātmya is important from the geographical point of view inasmuch as it furnishes accurate information regarding the places through which the river Godāvarī flows.

<sup>49.</sup> The charming legend of the sage Kandu is printed in Lassen's, Anthologia Sanskritica, translated into German by A.W.V. Schlegel, Indische Bibliothek, I, 1822, p 257 ff. and into French by A.L. Chezy in JAI. 1822, p. 2 ff. The legend is also related in Vişuu P. I, 15—Winternitz, History of Indian Literature p. 534.

That Gautamī-māhātmya is a distinct work by itself is further proved by the fact that the general topics dealt with in the Purāṇa, viz. genealogies, creation, dissolution and recreation, the dharmas of varṇa and āśrama, śrāddha, etc. are dealt with before and after the Gautamī-māhātamya.

It is called a highly meritorious Purāṇa declared by Brahmā (Br. P. 175.78, 87). The place which it occupies in the Br. P. was not meant for it because it divides the chapters on Puruṣottama-kṣetra-māhātmya. The way in which ch. 176 opens shows that it immediately followed ch. 69. Moreover, in ch. 176, there is no hint from which we may conclude that the māhātmya was there. (In Br. P. 179, 2 the sages refer to Bhāratavarṣa ch. 27) and Puruṣottam-kṣetra of which, they say, Vyāsa told them elaborately, but they do not mention the Gautamī-māhātmya which also precedes ch. 179 in our edition. In the Venkateśwara ed. it is placed at the end. This māhātmya was attached to the Br. P. later than the chapters on Orissa, for the Nāradīya Purāṇa (I. 92), which gives the contents of the present Br. P., including the māhātmyas of Puruṣottama-kṣetra and Ekāmra-kṣetra, does not mention the Gautamī-māhātmya.

It has its own beginning and its own end. Even after the colophons, the Ānandāśrama ed. separately mentions the numbers of the adhyāyas of the Gautamī-māhātmya. Again as stated above, some MSS. like 'ka' contain the whole of the Br. P. whereas the MSS. like 'kha' and 'ga' do not contain the Gautamī-māhātmya, while the MSS. 'gha', 'na' and 'ca' contain only the Gautamī-māhātmya. We get a separate edition of the Br. P. containing only the Gautamī-māhātmya also. All these tend to show that though the Gautamī-māhātmya was a part of the Br. P., it constituted an independent unit by itself. Even so there are discrepancies in it.

Now let us discuss the various points which show irregularities in the story-contents. The adh. 70 forms an introduction to the Gautamī-māhātmya. The MS. 'gha' starts the Gautamī-māhātmya with the mangalaślokas. The adhyāyas 35-36 and 71-72 though containing the stories of Umā-Śiva differ in details. In the adh. 35 after relating the story of Dakṣayajñavidhvamṣa in the Cākṣusa manvantara, the story of Umā's birth is related but here Umā takes birth not because the gods were confronted by the danger of Tārakayabut Secause to get a child was very necessary for one's

own good. Moreover, the etymology of the name 'Umā' and the story of how Siva tests Umā's love for him are given. Further, here the danger of Tāraka is not related. On the contrary, Siva comes to Pārvatī on his own account and asks her to marry him. Also, Kāmadeva disturbs Siva after his marriage. Ratī is said to be present at the time of Kāma-dahana and she asks a boon from Lord Siva for the rebirth of Kāmadeva.

The same story of Siva and Parvati is related in the adh. 71 but the details vary. The Dakşayajñavidhvamsa is not mentioned. the gods request Himavan to give birth to Uma because they were afraid of the demon Tāraka. The story regarding the etymology of Umā etc. is not given. It is said that Umā practises penance for Siva, but Siva himself never appears before Umā to test her affection as was the case in the first account. On the other hand Kāmadeva and the spring season disturb his penance, and Kāmadeva is burnt on that account. Ratī is not mentioned here. This difference shows that the Gautamī-māhātmya clearly differs from the Br. P. This account resembles that of the Kumārasambhava, with Ratī added. Here Pārvatī is not called Umā but she is called Gauri. The svayamvara of Parvati is not mentioned but the marriage of Pārvatī with Śiva is arranged. Here too Brahmā performs the marriage rites but the disgraceful story regarding the creation of Vālakhilyas from Brahmā which was not given in the first account, is introduced here to connect it somehow with the Godāvarī-māhātmva.

In the adh. 8. 53-74 the story regarding the birth of the 60,000 sons of Sagara and their death at being sighted by Kapila is related. The same story is given in adh. 78 but the details vary. The story regarding their birth is not different. Moreover, here it is stated that the horse of Hayamedha was carried away by Indra (78-13) but it was tied near Kapila by the demons with an idea that the gods might be destroyed by Kapila's wrath. In adh. 8.55, Kapila is said to be Lord Viṣṇu himself whereas here it is said that in olden times Kapila had helped the gods. He wanted to rest and asked for a proper place and the gods advised him to go to Rasātala: so at the time of Sagara's aśvamedha, Kapila was sleeping in the Rasātala. (A similar story regarding king Muchakuṇḍa is given in the Br. P. in the adh. 96.) In both the adhyāyas it is said that the sons of Sagara were burnt by the lustre emanating from Kapila's eye who was sleeping there but in the adh. 78.21, it

is said that it was the divine speech which declared that the horse was in the Rasātala. Moreover, they did not wake Kapila but being too arrogant they kicked him and were burnt by him. In the adh. 8, Pañcajana is said to be the remaining child whereas in the adh. 78, Asamañjā is said to be the remaining child. The story of king Bhagīratha, etc. given in the adh 78 is not referred to in the adh. 8, there the main purpose being to count the descendants whereas here the main purpose is to eulogize the river Godāvarī.

There are cases of chronological disorder too. Thus after dealing with the deeds of Kārtikeya in the adh. 81, the adh. 82 relates his birth. Thus it seems that in narrating the Gautamīmāhātmya, the author has not laid much emphasis on the systematic chronological order but he has either narrated the stories according to the order of tīrthas or according to some other order. Again in the adh. 113, it is said that Lord Siva destroyed the fifth head of Brahmā and in the adh. 135 it is said that Lord Brahmā spoke a lie with his fifth head.

The anecdote regarding the paring of Sun's lustre given in the adh. 6 and the adh. 32 is again repeated in the adh. 89. The name of Samjñā is changed to Uṣā and the names Tāpī and Viṣṭi are also mentioned among the names of children.

The story of Purūravā's birth given in the adh. 7 is again repeated in the adh. 108 but here instead of Ila changing into king Sudyumna afterwards (as was the case in adh. 7), king Ila is changed to Ilā and the episode of Umāvana is introduced.

The story of Satī and Dakṣa's sacrifice, its destruction and Dakṣa's prayer in honour of Lord Siva, etc. given in the adh. 34-35 are again repeated in the adh. 109. The general style of both the adhyāyas differs.

The story of the birth of Maruts given at the end of the adh. 3 is repeated in the adh. 124 but here it is said that Indra cut the embryo of Diti on the advice of the demon Maya.

The story of Kāma dahana given in the adh. 71 is again repeated in the adh. 128 but in the adh. 71 the gods send Kāmadeva in order to disturb Lord Siva so that he might marry Pārvatī but in the adh. 128, it is stated that when the gods were confronted by danger from the demon Tārak. Siva and Pārvatī were already married and the gods sent Agni or ly to report to Lord Siva about the threat from Tāraka, and the senten of lord Siva fellulates Agni

and Kārtikeya was born. This shows that the Gautamī-māhātmya itself is not homogeneous.

The story of king Prthu's milching the earth given in the adh. 4 is again repeated in the adh. 141 but here the details of the milching process are not given.

The story of Yayāti's enjoying the youth of his son Puru given in the adh. 12 is again repeated in the adh. 146 but here it is given in order to eulogize the river Gautamī.

The story of Śunaḥśepa given in the adh. 104 is again in the adh. 150, but there it was told with reference to Rohita whereas in the adh. 150, the details regarding Rohita are not given and the story is independently developed in order to eulogize the Paiśācatīrtha. The story of Hariscandra given in the adh. 104 follows the account of the Aitereya Brāhmaņa.

The story of Soma abducting Tārā given in the adh. 9 is again repeated in the adh. 152 but here the story of Brahmā's intervention is not given and the birth of Budha is also not mentioned. On the contrary Brhaspati purifies Tārā by the water of the river Ganges and curses Candra to loose its shape.

The story of Rāma is given in a scattered form in the adhs. 123, 153, 157, 176 but it is given in order to eulogize the river Gautamī.

The account of Brahmi's creation given in the adh. 1 is repeated in the adh. 161.

The story of the river Ganges being brought down on the earth by the sage Gautama in the adh. 74, 75 is again repeated in the adh. 175 but in this adhyāya the story of Vināyaka falsely blaming the sage Gautama is not given.

The extent of the Br. P. is said to be 10,000 ślokas by the majority of the Purāṇas. But the Matsya Purāṇa says that it extends to 13,000 ślokas and the Devībhāgavata to 14,000. The majority of the Purāṇas do not think that the Gautamī-māhātmya comprising one hundred and six chapters containing 4,000 ślokas is a part of the Br. P. I he Nārada Purāṇa which gives the table of contents of all the eighteen great Purāṇas says that the Br. P. consists of ten thousand ślokas and has two parts and in the table no mention is made of any topic treated of in the Gautamī-māhātmya which divides the rest of the Purāṇa into two parts on account of the place it occupies in the Br. P. The Ānandāśrama ed. of the Br. P. with Gautamī-māhātmya counts the ślokas to 13,783

which when reduced to the standard of 32 syllables would make it a little more than 14,000 ślokas.

Living aside the Gautamī-māhātmya the Br. P. naturally falls into two parts; the first containing 69 adhyāyas and the second 71, but the Nārada-Purāṇa says that the story of Rāma is to be found in the first part and the sanctity of Puruṣottama-kṣetra in the second. But as already said in the Ānandāśrama ed. the story of Rāma is found in a scattered form. So there seems to have been some revision, since the Nārada-Purāṇa was written.

#### (v) Kṛṣṇa-caritra

The Br. P. refers to Kṛṣṇa's birth in the genealogical chapters and the Syamantaka jewel story is also referred to but the regular Kṛṣṇa-caritra describing his life from birth to death is given in the adhs. 180-212. From the position which the Kṛṣṇa-caritra occupies in the Br. P., it seems that it is somewhat superfluous. But it seems that the Kṛṣṇa-caritra was introduced in the Purāṇa, when Kṛṣṇa worship was widely prevalent.

The story of Kṛṣṇa is given in detail in Harivamśa, Brahma, and Vișnu Purana, Bhagavata and Brahmavaivarta and in others it is given in short. Some of the portions of Kṛṣṇa-caritra are also narrated in the Mahābhārata. The Harivamśa, Brahma and Vișņu-Purăņa, are very similar and it is difficult to decide as to which version is earlier in the absence of a complete collation of all the adhyayas of Kṛṣṇa-caritra in all the three Purānas. The story of Syamantaka jewel is given in detail in the Vāyu Purāņa (adh.96) and the Matsya Purāņa (adh. 46). Moreover, the stories of Kamsa killing the sons of Devakī and Kṛṣṇa killing Kamsa, Śālva, Dvivida, Arista, Vrsabha, Pūtanā, Keśī, Kuvalayāpīda, Naraka and Kālayavana and cutting the hands of Bāņa (adh. 98) are given in the Vāyu Purāņa. It should be noted that all these stories are dealt with at length in the Br. P. also. Bhāgavata seems mainly to follow the Vişņu Purāņa but many new things are introduced in it, viz. the killing of Tṛṇāvarta, Kṛṣṇa's showing the whole world to Yasodā in his mouth, Kṛṣṇa carrying away the clothes of the Gopīs, Śankhacuda capturing the women of Vraja, etc. In the Brahmuvaivarta Purāna, great emphasis is placed on Rādhā-worship.

Regarding the adhyāyas 179, 180, it seems that after the Gautamī-māhātmya, the author wanted to start the story of Kṛṣṇa. Before that he connects the Puruṣottama with this portion. But after joining this link he seems to find it difficult to introduce the Kṛṣṇa-caritra without any occasion and therefore tries to bring in the subject of lord Viṣṇu in some way as to form an introduction to the Kṛṣṇa-caritra.

The style of Kṛṣṇa-caritra in the Br. P. remains uniform and the account is narrated by Vyāsa.

## (vi) Religion and Philosophy

This unit consists of 30 adhyāyas, viz. 213-230 and 234-245 dealing with topics of religious and philosophical nature.

After the Kṛṣṇa-caritra nothing remains to be said and therefore the Br. P. starts at random to describe various matters. Thus it describes the incarnation of Viṣṇu (adh. 213), Yama and his hells (adhs. 214-215), dharma (adh. 216), evolutionary rebirths (adh. 217), dāna of food (adh. 219), śrāddha (adh. 220), Sadācāra (adh. 221), varṇāśramadharma (adh. 222), karmavipāka (223-225), worship of Viṣṇu (226-229), bhaviṣyakathana (adh. 229, 230), philosophy (234-244) and importance of the Br. P. (adh. 245).

From the above analysis we can see that thus a great variety

of subjects is dealt with in this unit.

Thus, the Br. P. seems to be a conglomeration of the mahā-Purāṇa and upa-Purāṇa. All the material going under the name of the Br. P. is not found in the present Br P. and there seems to be three distinct layers. Brahmā's interlocution with the ṛṣis on the mountain Meru (chs. 26-178) is with additions reported by Vyāsa to another set of ṛṣis at Kurukṣetra (ch. 179 to 245) and the whole is repeated with fresh additions by Lomaharaṣaṇa to the ṛṣis at the Naimiṣa forest. The beginning and the end to each section seems to have been added to give them a Purāṇic form. The Kṛṣṇa-caritra is added at the time when Kṛṣṇa-worship was widely prevalent and it is worthy of note that Vyāsa is the main narrator of the Kṛṣṇa-caritra. Each layer has its own discrepancies, and as suggested by the colophons all the units are not added at one and the same time.

The above description of the contents of the Br. P. gives us some idea of the richness of the material contained in

the text, and the complexity of the form of Br. P. It also provides criteria for evaluating the data contained in the Br. P. for purposes of historical and social science analysis. In what follows we shall compile and analyse relevant sociological data contained in the Br. P.

# PART II SOCIETY

## SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The Indian system of social stratification is characterized by the caste system. The hierarchical feature of the caste system based on criteria of race and heridity, and the functional feature of division of labour based on the theory of karma had acquired roots in the society depicted in the *Brahma* Purāṇa.

#### Varņa, Jāti and Caste

Varna and jāti are the two central concepts of the caste system. Varna originally meant colour but as a social term it meant order or class. Its origin can be traced to the Vedas. The famous Puruṣasūkta (Rgveda. 10.90.12) contains a picture of creation giving the parts of the great God from which the brāhmaṇa, the kṣatriya, the vaiṣya and the ṣūdra emanated It states, that The brāhmaṇa was his mouth, his arms were made into the kṣatriya, his thighs were the vaiṣya, from his feet the ṣūdra was born and the same account is repeated in later works with slight modifications.

This Vedic theory was taken as a sanction for the permanent classification of society into four varņas. Teachers and priests were called brāhmaṇas, rulers and administrators, kṣatriyas; farmers, merchants and bankers, vaiśyas; and artisans and labourers, śūdras. These vocations were meant to be followed by people according to their ability and status. According to the original varṇa theory, they were not confined to groups of people; merit or liking entitled individuals to follow particular professions. The Bhagavadgītā emphasised this interpretation of the varṇa theory. To each varṇa or principal occupation a number of groups of persons or jātis came later to attach themselves regarding any other occupation as prohibited or degrading. This led to the subsequent

identification of varna with certain jatis and not with others. The disappearance of the varna theory based on colour or kind of work and its merging into the jāti theory based on birth and boycott created the foundation of the present caste system.

The word caste was first used by the Portuguese to denote the various jātis existing in India. 'Jāti' derives from 'jan' to take birth, while 'varna' means colour. Varna also originates from 'vr' 'to choose' meaning 'choice of vocation', but either way, it has little to do with the purely hereditary principle involved in the word 'jāti'. The word jāti in the sense of caste can be traced back at least to the time of Nirukta, though in the Vedic literature it hardly occurs in the sense of caste.1 The word jati implies the heredity connotation while the word 'varna' implies the 'colour connotation', which was so strong that "when the classes came to be regularly described as varnas, four different colours were assigned to the four classes by which their members were supposed to be distinguished."2 The view that 'varna' and 'jāti' are distinct and 'essentially independent', though by the reaction of principles on fact the two institutions may have become fused together later on, was first put forward by E. Senart.3

The Br. P. uses the terms 'varna' and 'jāti' to mean caste groups. There is a reference to the ascription of the four colours to the four varnas when the Br. P. states that in the Sālmaladvīpa, the brāhmaņas were kapila, the kşatriyas, aruņa, the vaisyas, pīta or yellow and the sūdras, black.4 Again it says that in the Ekamrakaksetra people of different varnas having white yellow, red and black colours lived (41.17, missing in 'ga'). Interesting is the use of term "jñati", in Brahma Purāņa, which suggests that the numerous endogamous groups had already been established. The term derives from the Samskrit root 'jna'. 'to know.' This is the most conventional term to refer to caste groups, "the known people".

<sup>1.</sup> Kane P.V., History of Dharmasastra (=HDS), Vol. II, 55; Nirukta 12.13.

<sup>2.</sup> Ghurye G.S., Caste and Class in India, p. 47, for discussion on the concept of varna and jāti. vide Srinivas M.N., Religion an I Society among the Coorgs of South India, pp. 24 ff; Srinivas M.N., A.R. "Wadia Essays in Philosophy presented in his honour," pp. 357. ff.

<sup>3.</sup> Senart: Caste in India (Tr. by Ross, 1930), p. 153.

<sup>4. 20.30;</sup> The Mbh. (Cr. ed. 12.181.5) states that the colour of the brāhmin is white, of the kşatriyas red, of the vaīsyas yellow and of the sūdras black,

Like the Puruşasūkta, the Brahma Purāņa also assigns the origin of the four varnas to the different limbs of Lord Nārāyana and accepts the theory of the four varnas with the difference that 'Purușa' of the Purușasūkta is transformed into 'Nārāyaņa' in the Brahma Purāņa and the term 'rājanya' is changed into 'kṣatra'.5 Thus the function of a ruler, rajanya' was made into a hereditary characteristic of the entire class of kşatriyas. This passage has then been elaborated by ascribing functions to each group Thus the brāhmaņas who emanated from the mouth were to play the role of the preservers and the propagators of learning. The kşatriyas who sprang from the arms, the symbol of strength and valour were dutybound to protect the people. The creation of the vaisyas from the thighs signified that he was to provide all the means of sustenance to the society while the origin of the sūdra from the feet signified that he was to serve the other three varnas.6 "The whole social organisation is here conceived symbolically as one human being-the body social-we may say with the limbs representing the social classes based on the principle of division of labour."7

The system of the four varṇas had taken such deep roots in the period when the brāhmaṇa works were composed, that many vedic passages are cited to say that the system extended even to the gods<sup>3</sup>—Agni and Bṛhaspati being the brāhmaṇas among gods; Indra, Varuṇa, Soma and Yama being the kṣatriyas; Vasus, Rudras, the Viśve Devas and Maruts being the vaiśyas, and Pūṣan being the śūdra.<sup>3</sup> The Brahma Purāṇa also stating that there were four varṇas among the gods adds that the members of all the four varṇas of gods used to dine together (34.36). This means that restrictions regarding eating together among men of different varṇas had already entered in society, though the gods were free.

- 5. Brahma vaktram bhujau kşatram urü samsritā visah, Pādau sūdra bhavantīme vikrameņa krameņa ca/! 56.22, 23. Brahmaņastu mukhāttasyabhavanbāhvosca kşatriyah, Urūbhyām visa eva ca-padd!eyām sūdrasca samjātāh/! 161.45.
- 6. Prabhu P.N., Hindu Social Organisation, p. 292.
- 7. Ibid, p. 292. The Comments of Dr. Prabhu pertain to the passage of Rv. 10.90.12.
- 8. Kane P.V., HDS, Vol. II, p. 42.
- Maitrāyani Sam 1.10.13, Sat, Brāhamana 14.4.2 23-25, Br. Up. 1.4.11-13, Kauşītaki Br. 9.5 & Ait. Br. 34.5, Sāntiparva 208-23-25.

The Brahma Purāṇa describes the varṇa system as found in various dvīpas. Thus it states that from Plakṣadvīpa to Śākadvīpa, the dharma is divided into four parts according to the arrangement of varna and asrama (20.16). The Br. P. mentions the different names given to the four classes of the social ladder in various dvīpas (adh. 20). At one place the Brahma Purāņa mentions the duties common to all the four classes. It states that to save money for the maintenance of servants, to approach one's wife at the appropriate time, to show kindness to all, to bear the duals of pleasure and pain with equanimity, to remain holy and unegoistic, not to inflict pain on others, to speak politely, to bear friendly feeling towards all, not to wish for anything and not to find faults with others—these are the highest and common duties for all the castes (220.12-17). This common ideal notwithstanding the status of duties enjoined on each varna are described separately.

#### Brāhamanas

The most remarkable feature in the structure of Hindu society is the high position assigned to the Brahmanas. Not only are they given almost divine honours as their birthright, but generally speaking, the other three classes readily submit to their authority as a matter of course. 10 As Dubois observes, "The Brahmin's superiority is inherent in himself, and it remains intact, no matter what his condition in life may be, Rich or poor, unfortunate or prosperous, he always goes on the principle engraved in him that he is the most noble, the most excellent, and the most perfect of all created beings, that all the rest of mankind is infinitely beneath him, and that there is nothing in the world so sublime or so admirable as his customs and practices." 11

The above observation is borne out by a number of assertions in the Br. P. on the brahmana's superior status in comparison with the others. If a kşatriya, it says, produces corn without damage to the wealth of the brahmanas, his sins are destroyed. If a vaisya gives away to the brahmana whatever remains of the corn after the 1/6th allotted to king he becomes

<sup>10.</sup> Bhattacharya J.N., Hindu Castes and Sects, p. 19.

<sup>11.</sup> Abbe J.A. Dubois, Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies, 3rd ed., P. 304; also vide C. Boagle, Essays Sur le regime des castes, 3rd ed., p. 4 and Charlotte V. & William H. Wiser, Behind mud walls, p. 20.

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free of all his sins. If a sūdra gives pure anna (food) produced by himself to brāhmaṇas, he is also freed of his sins (218.12-26). (The Br. P. here indicates a liberal attitude in letting the sūdras give food to the brāhmaṇas.) Again obedience to the brāhmaṇas brings success in life (194.4). In fact the Br. P. says that if a brāhmaṇa's life was in danger it was to be saved at any cost (35.48). Even a king should protect all the four castes but pay special attention to the welfare of the brāhmaṇas, who should be given the highest respect because they were higher than the Lord Viṣṇu (104.63-69). By ignoring the brāhmaṇas, the kings lost their kula or family.

It also states that the brāhmaṇa is very sacred and is protected on all the sides by various gods. Thus his body is made of iron, his feet are protected by Viṣṇu, his head by Janārdana, his hands by Varāha, his back by Kūrmarāt, his heart by Kṛṣṇa, his fingers by Mṛga, his mouth by Vāgīśa, the eyes by Pakṣiga, and the ears by Vitteśa (167.27-30). Manu also states that brāhmaṇas are to be worshipped as they are a supreme divinity. The Br. P. calls them gods on earth. 12

From the very early times the brāhmaņas were connected with the Vedic studies. The Br. P. also emphasizes the importance of the Vedic studies for the brāhmaņas. The great store set by Vedic studies may be gauged from the fact that it was thought most lucky for one to be born a brahmana and become well-versed in the four Vedas because that was a pre-requisite for attaining mokşa (58.76, 77). In addition to the Vedas, the brāhmaņas were supposed to know the itihāsas, the Purāņas and other śāstras, and cultivate interest in other vidyās like the jyotişaśāstra and the vāstuvidyā. Thus the Br. P. states that the brāhmaņas of Aundradesa were well-versed in the Vedas, and had knowledge of itihāsa and the Purāņas and were experts in all the śāstras (28.1-8). Also that the brahmanas of Purusottama-ksetra recited the Vedas with their angas, pada and krama and were experts in all the sastras (46 8-10). King Indradyumna it said to have called the brāhmaņa expert in the jyotişaśāstra, who was also learned in the

<sup>12.</sup> Cf. devāh parokşadevah pratyakşadevā brāhmaṇāh VIDS 19.20 Ete vai devāh pratyakşam yad brāhmaṇāh. Ts 1.7.31; vide Hazra and R.C., Puranic records on Hindu rites & customs, p. 258; cf. na viprebhyastapaḥ śreşṭhaṃ śreṣṭḥā vai brāhmaṇāḥ mataḥ Br. P.

Vedas and śāstras to select a suitable site for the temple-building (47.3). En passant this shows the relationship between the king and the brāhmaṇas. For performing sacrifices also the brāhmaṇas well-versed in Vedas, Vedāṅgas and śāstras gathered together (47.30-32). It is laid down that on a pilgrimage the brāhmaṇas should bathe and do the 'japa' as enjoined by the Vedas (67.19-20). It was obligatory for them to know the Gāyatri mantra by heart (107.4-15).

Another duty prescribed for the brāhmaṇas was to impart Vedic lore. As P.V. Kane concludes "Whatever may have been the case in very remote times, from the times of the brāhmaṇa literature and in the times of the dharmaśāstras, teaching vedic literature was almost universally in the hānds of the brāhmaṇas." The Br. P. also states this duty and adds as before that the brāhmaṇas of the Auṇḍradeśa are known for their skill in teaching the Vedas (28.1-8).

A third duty and also the privilege of the brahmanas is to officiate as priests in the performance of the sacrifice. Some of these sacrifices were carried out over many years. According to the Br. P. the sages held a sacrifice in the Naimiṣāraṇya which lasted for twelve years (I.69). In the course of describing the country, the Br. P. states that the brahmanas lived in the middle part of Bhāratavarşa and followed the occupation of sacrifice (27.17-18). Again it finds the brāhmaņas of Auņdradeśa good in the performance of sacrifice and in performing agnihotra; and they are said to worship the smarta agni (28.1-8). The brahmana's connection with the antique institution of fire-worship is traceable to the Indo-European period.14 In the Rgreda also agni is celebrated in two hundred hymns. 15 The Br. P. also refers to the worship of domestic sacrificial fires, and finds the brahmanas of the Ekāmraka-kṣetra experts in performing the agnihotra and upāsanākriyā (46.8-10). A brāhmaņa was supposed to perform the agnihotra (107.7-8). His span of life was increased by performing the agnikārya (107.4-15). Bhāradvāja, son of Angirānandana

<sup>13.</sup> Kane P.V., HDS, Vol. II, p. 108.

<sup>14.</sup> Keith A.B., 'The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanisads', HOS, Vol. XXXII, p. 625 ff.

<sup>15.</sup> Macdonell A.A., Vedic Mythology, p. 88,

Brhaspati, performed great sacrifices for king Bharata who had no son. As a result of these sacrifices, he had 100 sons (13.59-60).

As regards the participation of brāhmins in political affairs, the Br. P. mentions the wellknown example of the unrighteous Veṇa who was dethroned by the brāhmaṇas on account of his misbehaviour (adh.4). "The purchita or the chief priest was an indispensable appendage to the royalty of the period". Again it appears that the right of officiating at sacrifices belonged only to the brāhmaṇas and they obtained land from the kṣatriyas for such duties (168.3-5).

The brāhmaṇas were also permitted to receive gifts from a worthy or unblemished person. The Br. P. states that after worshipping Lord Jagannātha, one should worship the brāhmaṇas and should give them by way of dāna twelve cows, clothes, gold, umbrellas, shoes, and copper vessels. In addition they should be served a dinner of milk, sweet dishes, jaggery and ghee. The brāhmaṇas should then be given twelve pots full of water along with a dakṣiṇā suited to the capacity of the giver (67.40-43). The annadāna given to brāhmaṇas is highly eulogised; one whose annadāna is accepted by ten brāhmaṇas never goes down into the category of birds and animals in the cycle of birth. The dāna offered was gold, jewels, elephants, horses, etc. (44.4).

Again, the services of the brāhmaņas were required for the performance of vratas and other religious ceremonies. The brāhmaņas of Aundradeśa were again regarded as experts in the performance of ceremonies like śrāddha, dāna, marriage, sacrifice etc. (28.1-8). They were called in to perform samskāras for a boy (111.9). A brāhmaņa was expected to remain engrossed in giving dāna, performing sacrifice, practising penance and offering agnihotra and tarpaņa. He was to maintain himself by performing sacrifices and teaching. His highest duty was to help others. His greatest wealth was the friendship of all people. He should therefore regard the wealth of others like cows, jewels and other belonging with equanimity (222.3-6).

Even so it seems that the economic condition of the brāhmaṇas left much to be desired. The Br. P. also mentions that at the time of famine, the family of the sage Viśvāmitra was reduced

Vyas S.N., 'The Caste system in the Rāmāyaņa age', JOI, Vol. III, No. 2, Dec. 1953, p. 117.

to such straits that his wife wanted to sell her son in order to maintain herself (7.106). But a brāhmaņa who sold his son to maintain himself was held up to ridicule by the others, and was called 'brāhmaṇādhama' (150.2).

A brāhmaņa was held in very great esteem and his anger was much feared. The sages were believed to be able to curse with fearful results. Once Agni begged alms from the king Kārtavīrya Arjuna and he gave Agni the whole of his kingdom. In devouring it Agni burnt down the hermitage of the sage Vasistha, the son of Varuṇa. Whereupon Vasistha cursed that as the cause of the calamity Kārtavīrya would be killed by a brāhmaṇa and ultimately Kārtavīrya met his death at the hands of Paraśurāma (93.190-197). When the sage Gautama saw that Indra had approached his wife Ahalyā in his absence, he cursed Indra that a thousand signs of the genital organ would appear all over his body. On being prayed by Indra, he agreed to lessen the effect of the curse and said that the thousand signs which would appear all over the body will look like eyes (Br. P. 87.59). Hence Indra is known as 'Sahasrākṣa'.

While giving the brāhmaṇa many privileges, it was expected of him that he would be an example of right conduct. A brāhmaṇa desiring right knowledge should always strive for it through the highest means of jñāna and sadācara (122.166). In the times of distress, a brāhmaṇa was allowed to do the work of a kṣatriya and a vaiśya but in normal times the karmasaṃskāra should not be done (222.20). The Br. P. furnishes an instance when a brāhmaṇa took to agriculture (91.2).

The brahma-hatyā or murder of a brāhmaņa was considered the greatest sin (123.54, 74, 157) and any one guilty of it was thought unfit to be seen or touched by others (123.54). The sin of brāhmaṇa-murder could never be got rid of (123.74). As Indra had killed the brāhmaṇa Vṛtra, he had to conceal himself in a lotus-stalk for a thousand years (a.96). Expiation could be sought through performing the aśvamedha sacrifice. Upon completion of the sacrifice the guilty one would become a lohagandhī, i.e. one who smells of blood (12.11-14). Less serious offences against the brāhmaṇas were also condemned. One who abuses the deities, the Vedas, the adhyātmaśāstras, and the brāhmaṇas was called a brahmaghātin (164.32-37).

Since the status accorded to a brāhmaņa was so high his fall from it was a very serious affair. The Brahma Purāņa states that to attain the brāhmaņa status is very difficult. A brāhmaņa is a brāhmaņa by his very nature, but by committing sins, he can slip from his path and degrade himself. A brāhmaņa who maintains himself by adhering to the dharma proper for a brāhmaņa attains brahmabhāva but one who gives up his dharma and takes the dharma proper for the kṣatriyas falls from the brāhmaņa status and takes a new birth among the kṣatriyas. A brāhmaņa who through infatuation and greed follows the dharma proper for a vaiśya takes a new birth among the vaiśyas and thus degraded from his original position, he ultimately attains the śūdratva (233.12-19). The preference for the values of character and learning to those of power and wealth is noteworthy.

The Br. P. presents a striking contrast between the status of a brāhmaṇa and that of a śūdra. Thus a brāhmaṇa who dies with the food of a śūdra in his stomach, falls down from Brahmaloka and becomes a śūdra. The caste of a brāhmaṇa's subsequent birth was determined by the caste of those he took food from. One who gives up the brāhmaṇa status obtained by him naturally, who eats the uneatable, falls down from his high position. A drunkard, a killer of brāhmaṇas, a thief, a violater of vows, an unholy man, one not engrossed in svādhyāya, a sinner, a greedy person, one not benefitting others, a kuṇḍāśī, i.e. a pimp, a seller of soma, one serving low people, one approaching the teacher's wife and abusing the teacher and one who discards and ignores a brāhmaṇa deteriorates from the position of a brāhmaṇa (223.24-32).

Further, a brāhmaṇa who acts badly and eats the food of mixed castes becomes a śūdra. The birth, the saṃskāra, the vedādhyayana and progeny—all these factors do not form the cause of the dvijatva but the main cause of the dvijatva is sadācāra. All people are considered to be brāhmaṇas by actions only. A śūdra becomes a brāhmaṇa by the practice of dharma and a brāhmaṇa degenerates to śūdratva by following adharma (223.54-65). This shows the liberal attitude of the Brahma Purāṇa towards the śūdras and the importance of the standards to be preserved by the brāhmaṇas. Further this also shows that according to the Brahma Purāṇa it is not the birth that distinguishes a brāhmaṇa

from a sudra but it is the vetta that marks off one from the other.17

#### The Kşatriyas

The kşatriyas as the next on the racial ladder receive less exhaustive attention in the Brahma Purana. Just as it was the primary duty of the brahmanas to perform sacrifices and study the Vedas, similarly the kşatriya's main duty consisted in being soldiers. They had to protect the subjects by fighting against the enemies. The Br. P. states that a kşatriya should give dana to brahmanas and should worship gods by offering various sacrifices and should remain engrossed in the svādhyāya. He should maintain himself by the use of his weapons and by protection of the earth, which was his main duty. His sacrifices were acceptable as a result of his fulfilling his duty. A king is assigned the duty of preserving the social order, punishing evil and upholding good, through which dispensation he got the desired results (222.6-10). Such kşatriyas who desire kingship and victory in the battlefield should bow down to king Pṛthu (4.117-118). A kṣatriya who retreats from the battlefield incurs the sin of brahmana-murder (165.31-34).

Among the various other duties mentioned for the kşatriyas, the Br. P. states that a king should protect the three varnas (104.63-65). A kşatriya should perform a śrāddha following the rules of his own varna and injunctions of his own kula accompanied by the recitation of the mantras (220.3, 4). While describing India, the Br. P. states that the kşatriyas live in the middle part of India and follow the occupation of fighting (27.17, 18). On a pilgrimage, they were expected to bathe and do japa with a recitation of the Veda (67.19-20). This would show that the kşatriyas too like brāhmaņas studied the Vedas. Elsewhere the kşatriyas are mentioned along with the members of the other castes as witnessing the sacrifice conducted by the sages in Naimiṣāraṇya (1.8-9). After the upanayana, a kşatriya should remain engrossed in the brahmacaryavrata, give dāna occasionally, give dakşiņā perform a sacrifice with great pomp, study the Vedas, worship the

<sup>17.</sup> Na yonirnāpi samskāro na śrutirna ca samtatih / Kāranāni dvijatvasya vṛttameva tu kāraṇam // Sarvo'yam brāhmaṇo loke vṛttena tu vidhīyate// Vrtte sthitaśca śudro'pi brahmanatvam gacchati // 223.56-58.

three fires, viz. ahavaniya and others with a desire to attain heaven. If he is a king he should give dana and protect his subjects. He should speak the truth, remain pure, practise righteousness, and try for the trivarga viz. dharma, artha and kāma. He should restrain his mind and body and take only one sixth of the income of his subjects. He should approach his wife at the time of the rtukāla, should observe fasts and should remain engrossed in the svādhyāya. He should always receive the three castes with a happy mind. He should always give food to the śūdras and should not give way to selfishness or desire. He should always keep preparations required by custom ready for receiving the pitrs and guests. He should offer worship according to the prescribed rites and should give up his body in battle for the protection of the brāhmanas. Thus following the dharma proper for a kśatriya, he becomes a brahmana in his next birth and studies the Vedas. This passage throws good light on the duties and status of kşatriyas (233.37-53).

The Br. P. states that a kṣatriya should normally adhere to his own occupation but in abnormal times or in times of distress a kṣatriya may perform the work of a vaiśya or a śūdra (222.18-20). It follows from this that in times of distress, adoption of the vocations of lower castes by higher castes was permitted.

Further the Br. P. states that the kṣatriyas of Kuśadvīpa performed all the rites enjoined by the śāstras and worshipped lord Janārdana in the form of lord Brahmā to destroy their sins (20.39); those of the Śākadvīpa were devoted to the Sun (20.71, 72). In the Utkalapradeśa, the kṣatriyas were very peaceful, religious, devoted to their own karmans and possessed control over their senses (28.8, 9). There were some kṣatriyas who lived in Ujjain and worshipped lord Mahādeva (43.30), (40.46). While some were the worshippers of lord Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma (66.10-12). We may conclude that they followed various religious orders (66.10-12). It was believed that the kṣatriyas got the highest siddhi by devoting themselves to lord Nārāyaṇa (178.185-186).

As regards purification, the Br. P. states that on the death of someone in the family, a kṣatriya gets purified in twelve days but during that period, he should not perform his work (220.63, 64), (221.147, 158).

The Br. P. names various types of kşatriyas. Thus it states that the class Kuru of Plaksadvipa is equivalent to the kşatriya class (20.17). The kşatriyas of the Salmaladvīpa possessed aruņa colour (20.30), and those of the Kuśadvipa were called Suşmi, those of the Krauncadvipa were called Puşkara (20.53, 54) and those of the Sākadvīpa were called Magadha (20.71, 72). The kşatriyas called Dhārşṭakas and Karuşas were the sons of Dhṛṣṭa and Karuşa and they fought vigorously in battle (7.25, 26, 42). King Sagara got an agneyastra from the sage Aurva and deseated the kşatriyas called Tālajanghas, Kaikayas, Sakas, Pahlavas, and Pāradas (8.32). They lost their caste for rebelling against the descendants of king Hariscandra. The Br. P. recounts the incident

After having performed Sagara's natal and other rites and taught him all the Vedas and provided him with a fiery missile, the sage Aurva enjoined king Sagara to slay the Haihayas. destroyed the Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas. But when they were on the point of being exterminated by Sagara, they sought out the sage Vasistha and fell prostrate before him. Vasistha asked Sagara to restrain himself, and Sagara released them after destroying their caste and making them change their customs. He released the Sakas after causing one half of their heads to be shaven and the Yavanas and Kambojas after having had their heads fully shaven. The Paradas were compelled to wear long hair, and the Pahlavas to grow beards. The Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Koņisarpas, Mahīśakas, Darvas, Colas and Keralas had all been kşatriyas but were deprived of their social and religious position by the great Sagara, in following the advice of Vasistha. (Br. P., adh. 8, Harivamsa XIV, 773-83). This leads to an inference that status in Aryan society was not originally wholly dependent on birth.

#### Vaisyas

The term used in the Br. P. to denote this order are vis and vaisya, which are of Vedic antiquity. The vaisyas form the third order of the four classes. The Br. P. states that they reside in the middle part of India (probably indicating Rajasthan and Gujarat) and follow the occupation of vāṇijya (27.17, 18).

Various types of vaisyas are mentioned. Thus those residing in Plakşadvīpa were called the vivisvas (20.17), those in the Śalmaladvīpa possessed yellow colour (20.30), those residing in Kuśadvīpa were called Snehas (20.39), those of the Krauńcadvīpa were called Dhanyas (20.53, 54) and those of Śākadvīpa were called Mānasas (20.71, 72).

Lord Brahmā has prescribed three means of livelihood for the vaiśyas, viz. cattle-breeding, trading and agriculture. The vaiśya should study the Vedas, perform the necessary sacrifices, give dāna, adhere to dharma, and perform the nitya and naimittika karmans (222.11-12). They were to give one-sixth part of their income to the king (218.19-20). They performed the śrāddhas with a recitation of the mantras following the rules of their own varņa and the injunctions of their own kula (220.3,4). They also followed the king in the procession (44.27). In a place of a pilgrimage, the vaiśyas were to take a bath and perform the rites prescribed by the Vedas (67.19-20) Thus in the time of Br. P. the vaiśyas were allowed access to a knowledge of Vedas and participation in religious activities. This probably, was not so earlier.

The vaisyas were allowed to perform the śrāddha to the accompaniment of Vedic recital. They were to perform it following the rules of their own varna and the injunctions of their own family (220.3,4). On the death of someone in the family, a vaisya remains impure for a fortnight and he is prohibited from performing his work during that period (220.63,64), (221.147,158).

The vaisyas belonged to various religious sects. Thus the vaisyas of Sālmaladvīpa worshipped Viṣṇu in the form of Vāyu (20.30), those of the Kuśadvīpa performed all the rites enjoined by the śāstras and performed the sacrifices in honour of Brahmā to destroy their karmans (20.39); those of Śākadvīpa worshipped Viṣṇu in the form of the Sun (20.71,72). Some other vaisyas worship Lord Mahādeva (40.46,136). Still others worship Nārāyaṇa, Nṛṣimḥa and Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma (56.17-18), (65.9-10), (66.10-12). The vaisyas get the highest siddhi by devoting themselves to Nārāyaṇa (178.185-186).

Stray references to the vaisyas show that they were peaceful, religious, following their own karmans and having control over their sensual desires (28.8-9). In eschatological matters also, the vaisyas production have suffered from any serious disabilities. The Br. P. states that they obtained the highest status when they

worship the Sun (28.37) and Visnu (226.14) with pure faith and devotion. By hearing the Sivastuti composed by Dakşa, they attained Rudraloka (40.136). The vaisyas of the Ekāmraka. ksetra are said to follow their own dharma (41.29). Some vaisyas are described as living in Ujjain (43.30). They lived happily in the reign of king Dasaratha (123.6) and in the kingdom of Rāma, they respected the kşatriyas (213.148). The vaisyas who hoard wealth and adhere to vaisyavrtti should bow down to king Prthu, the bestower of vitti (4.120). Like others the vaisyas were allowed to perform functions of the śūdras, in times of distress (220.18-20).

It seems that during the times of Br. P., the vaisyas were beginning to acquire status and even power which they did not possess during the dharmasastra period.

#### Śūdras

The Br. P. states that there were different classes in different dvipas corresponding to the sudra class. Thus the sudras were called Bhāvin in Plakṣadvīpa (20.17), Mandahas in the Kuśadvīpa (20.39), Khyātas in Krauficadvīpa (20.63,54), Mandagas in the Śākadvīpa (20.71,72). The śūdras of the Śālmaladvīpa were black in colour (20.30).

The Br. P. provides reference to the śūdras which give us an idea of their condition. From the fact that they had gathered together with the members of other classes to witness the sacrifice conducted by the sages (I.8,9), it appears that though their presence at the sacrifice was tolerated, they were not allowed to participate in it. The holy sudras who desired the highest bliss in this world were whole-heartedly absorbed in serving the other three castes (4.121). The śūdras, however, were allowed to perform their own sacrifice. Thus the śūdras of the Śālmaladvīpa performed the sacrifices (20.30), those of the Kuśadvipa performed all rites enjoined by the śāstras and also the sacrifices, those of Śākadvīpa also performed the śāstra-enjoined karmans (20.39,71,72). In the Utkalapradeśa, the śūdras were very religious, peaceful, restrained and devoted to their own karmans (28.8,9), (41.29). The Br. P. also states that the śūdras also lived in Ujjain (43.30). The śūdras of the Purusottama-kşetra are said to follow their own dharma (46.8). At one place, the Br. P. states that the snana and japa to be performed by the people of the first three warnas and japa to CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Dignized warnas ou shoulds be

accompanied by the Vedic mantras whereas the snāna and japa to be performed by the women and śūdras should be done without the accompaniment of the Vedic mantras (67.19). It is said that a brāhmaņa who did not study the Vedas was equal to śūdra. This shows that a śūdra was not allowed to study the Vedas (110.7,8). Like the vaiśyas they lived happily in the reign of king Daśaratha (123.6) and in the kingdom of Rāma, they served the first three varṇas (213.148). As regards the performance of śrāddha, the Br. P. states that women and the śūdras should perform the śrāddha without kindling fire, performing sacrifice and reciting the mantras (220.4), (222.13,14). This is in consonance with the dharmaśāstras. The longest period of impurity, i.e. of one month is attached to the śūdras; and they can resume their work only after that period (220 63,64), (221.147,158).

As regards the duties of the śūdras, the Br. P. states that a śūdra should serve the twice-born and should maintain himself by buying and selling things or through architecture. It seems that architecture, the fine arts, and forms of entertainment were the activities performed by the śūdras, and that they did not have a respectable status.

The sūdras followed various religious creeds. Thus it is said that the śūdras of the Plakṣadvīpa, Śākadvīpa and Kuśadvīpa worship lord Vișnu in the form of Vāyu, Vișnu and Brahmā respectively. (20.30, 39, 71, 72). The śūdras of the Utkalapradesa also worshipped the Sun and it is said that those who worship Sun with pure faith and devotion receive what they desire and also the highest status (28.37). Again the sūdras could attain Rudraloka by listening to the stuti composed by Daksa in the honour of Lord Siva (40.46,136). The Br. P. again states that the sudras who worship Nṛsimha get freedom from all pains and obtain the status of gods, gandharvas, yakşas, vidyādharas and other desired objects (58.61,62). Some other sudras are said to have worshipped Lord Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā (66.10-12). The sudras get the highest siddhi by devoting themselves to Lord Nārāyaṇa (178.185-186), (226.14). Those pious śūdras who want prosperity should bow down to king Pṛthu (4.19). The low status of the sūdras is witnessed by the Br. P. when it states that one is sūdra by his very nature. If a brāhmaņa follows the karmans of a

<sup>18.</sup> Kane, Prof. Sarva Vrat. Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA, Vol. II, pp. 117 ff.

vaišya and shows greed and infatuation, he becomes a śūdra. If he is discarded by the caste, he falls from Brahmaloka and gets śūdratva. If in normal times a kṣatriya or a vaiśya performs a function proper to a śūdra, his status is lowered. Also those who do not follow their own karmans are lowered and attain śūdra status (223.19-21).

Again, it is said that Lord Brahmā himself has laid down that one should not take the food of a śūdra. A brāhmaṇa who dies with the food of a śūdra inside him falls to the status of a śūdra even though he is an agnihotrin or a performer of sacrifices (223.22-25). From the above account, it can be seen that the śūdras were considered low but the Brahma Purāṇa also adds that a śūdra who after purifying himself by knowledge, maintains himself by following his own dharma gets the merit of that dharma (223.20-22). Again, a śūdra who performs all the actions according to the śāstric injunctions, and follows the requirements of his caste both in mind and body receives the birth of a vaiśya (223.32-36). It also says that a śūdra who spends his life in keeping with actions prescribed by the śāstras should be considered to be holier than the twice-born (223.54-58). The Br. P. states that the śūdras live in the middle of India and serve others (27.17,18).

#### Sub-castes and Occupations

Besides the four main varnas, there were other professions and crafts even in the times of the samhitās. Dr. Kane observes that owing to the cultural development, division of labour arose and numerous arts and crafts came to be developed and they were in process of contributing to the complexity of the system by creating numerous sub-castes based upon such occupations and in the times of the Samhitās and Brāhmaṇas there were groups founded on occupations that had become castes or were in the process of developing into castes.<sup>19</sup>

The Br. P. gives a long list of such groups based on occupations. See mainly chapters 22,44 and 220 of the Br. P. It does not throw light on the origin of these groups but it seems that by the time of the Br. P. these groups had crystallised into fullfledged sub-castes. As numerous professions developed and as it became

Kane, HDS, Vol. II. Part I, pp. 44-48.
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difficult to assign any particular derivation for groups of people, Manu (X.40), Vasiṣṭha (18.7) and the Anuśāsana Parva (148.29) laid down that a man's sub-caste was to be known from his actions and occupation. This shows that according to most writers castes in the times of the smṛtis were characterized by occupation. Besides, the castes having an occupational basis, the Br. P. enumerates many other sub-castes of mixed origin and other low castes.

#### Social Mobility

The phenomenon of the mixed caste is one of the important topics connected with the discussion of varna. The word varnasamkara means mixture of castes by intermarriages. The Br. P. does not shed much light on the varnasamkaratva. This is because, during the time of Br. P. jātis had become prominent. It therefore, deals at length with the jātyutkarşa and jātyapakarşa—rise and fall from the status of one's jāti.

The Br. P. starts the discussion by raising the question what type of actions can change a brāhmaṇa, a kṣatriya, a vaisya or a sūdra to any of the three castes other than its own (223.3,7-11).

The answers form the views of the Brahma Purāna regarding the jātyutkarṣa and the jātyapakarṣa of the people (adh. 223), some of which have already been classified while describing the status of the four castes. Thus it states that the brāhmaṇas, the kṣatriyas, and vaiśyas and the śūdras get their respective status by their very nature. It follows therefore that, if the kṣatriya and vaiśya also maintain themselves by following the duties proper to a ṣūdra, they too become śūdras (223.12-20).

A śūdra who performs all the actions according to the śāstric injunctions, who takes the food remaining after the reception of his guests, who serves the higher classes, never thinks evil of others, always treads the right path, worships the gods and the brāhmaṇas, is always ready to give reception to all the people, has intercourse with his wife in the ṛtukāla, dines punctually and eats the food remaining after the learned men and the sages have eaten and never eats meat, receives birth as a vaisya (223.32-36).

The vaisya who being truthful, nirdvandva, expert in Sāmaveda, being holy and engrossed in svādhyāya performs sacrifices, does not see the faults of others, eats twice a day, who through a control of his diet has become desireless and void of

ahamkāra and who performing the agnihotra, eats the remaining portion of the food after the performance of the sacrifice becomes a kşatriya (223.37-41). Thus by performing all his duties as a ksatriya and by performing all the three types of sacrificial fires he becomes in another birth a brāhmana well-versed in the Vedas. By performing higher types of actions one gets a birth in the higher category.

Thus the Br. P. represents a stage when efforts were made to raise the status of the group in the social ladder by emulating life styles of the higher ones, by what Srinivas calls Sanskritization.20 Interestingly, the goal of emulation was set for the whole group and the reward was stated in items of another birth.

Besides the above discussion, the Br. P. provides some instances of social mobility which are of absorbing interest as they are reminiscent of a stage when the rules governing caste movement were loose. These instances date back to an early period.21 Pṛṣadhra, a kṣatriya, was cursed to be a śūdra by his preceptor as a punishment for his sinful act of killing a cow (7.43). The kṣatriya-brāhmaṇas also present a notable instance of social mobility for they were really brahmanas with the added status of kşatriya. There is no suggestion that there was any difficulty in the assumption of brahminhood in such cases.22 The Br. P. states that two sons of Nābhāga and Arista though vaisyas became brāhmaņas (7.42). There are several instances of kings becoming rsis without any difficulty and that was the same as becoming brāhmaņas.23 The Br. P. states that Viśvāmitra attained the coveted status of a brahmarşi by the power of his severe penance (10.54-56). These instances suggest that various processes such as penance, curse, adoption, etc. brought about status changes. process of penance sometimes brought about an upward movement, the goal in this case being the attainment of the much coveted status of a brāhmaṇa, while the process of being cursed led to the degradation of the person cursed to the status of a śūdra.24

Srinivas M.N.: Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India, pp. 30-31; vide also 'A note on Sanskritization and westernization'. The Far Eastern Quarterly, Vol. XV, No. 4, August 1956, pp. 481-496; Ghurye G.S., Caste and Class in India, Ch. VII.
 Desai N.Y.: Ancient Indian Society, Religion and Mythology as depicted in the Mark p. 19

<sup>21.</sup> Desa; N. T.: Ancient Indian Society, Religion and Mythology as depict in the Mark p. 19.
22. AIHT, pp. 244-245.
23. Ibid., p. 244.
24. Kantawala S.G., Cultural History from the Massyar Parama, por A6 ation USA
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# MARRIAGE, FAMILY AND POSITION OF WOMEN

SEVERAL WORDS WERE employed in ancient India to denote the idea of marriage.1

#### I. MARRIAGE

Thus the words udvāha, i.e. taking the girl out of her paternal home, vivāha i.e., taking the girl for a special purpose, i.e for making her one's wife, pariņaya or pariņayana, i.e. going round or making a pradakṣiṇā to fire, upayama i.e. to bring near and make one's own, and pāṇigrahaṇa, i.e. taking the hand of the girl are employed to convey the sense of marriage.<sup>2</sup>

The Br. P. also uses the words vivāha, udvāha, pāṇigrahaṇa and dārasaṃgraha to denote the idea of marriage (36.56, 37.1, 8.7, 111.20). Though these words signify one of the rites of marriage still all of them are used to indicate the totality of the several acts that settle the ceremony of marriage. The Br. P. also uses them in this total sense.

#### Purpose of Marriage

According to the smrtis and nibandhas, dharmasampatti, prajā (and consequent freedom from falling into hell) and rati (sexual and other pleasures) are the principal purposes of marriage. (Manu IX, 28). "To be mothers were women created and to be

<sup>1.</sup> Westermarck: History of Human Marriage, Vol. 1, p. 26.

<sup>2.</sup> Kane P.V. HDS Vol. Sirs P. Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

fathers men, therefore, the Vedas ordain that dharma must be practised by man together with his wife" (Manu IX.96). Manu considers marriage as a social institution for the regulation of proper relations between the sexes (Br. P. 228.24-28).

The Br. P. also states that one should observe one's dharma by marriage as without marriage, there is no progeny and without progeny, one goes to hell. Thus according to the Br. P. also dharmasampatti, prajā and rati are the three main purposes of marriage, called there 'dārasamgraha' (228.24-29). Besides, the woman is half of the man and therefore in order to attain completion also, a man should marry (129.61, 62). It is also said that a father who after giving birth to a child does not give him all the samskaras according to the Vedic rites suffers in hell permanently. Here the emphasis is placed on the samskara called vivaha,3 The Br. P. states that marriage was considered to be very important in a man's life as without it, the fire-worship was not done and the śrauta and the smārta rņas were not fulfilled (99.2).

## Qualifications of the Bridegroom and the Bride

Yama as quoted in Smrti-candrikā states that one should seek for seven qualities in a bridegroom, viz. good family, good character, bodily appearance, fame, learning, wealth and support of relatives and friends. 4 Brhat Parāšara (p. 118, Jiv. ed.) enumerates eight qualities in a bridegroom, viz. caste, learning, youth, strength, health, support of many friends, ambition and possession of wealth. The Br. P. also joins hands with these two and states that the qualities to be sought in a bridegroom are wealth, learning, youth, good family, fame, good nature, and support of others.5 King Surasena who wanted to arrange the marriage of his son, described his son as possessing good qualities like intelligence, valour, invincibility, and an expertise in chariot-driving, elephant

<sup>3.</sup> Janayitvātmajānvedavidhinā khilasamskṛtiḥ na kūryādyaḥ pitā tasya narakānnāsti niskṛtib, Br. P. 111.11.

<sup>4.</sup> Kulam ca śilam ca vapuryaśaśca vidyam ca vittam ca sanāthatām ca, etängunansapta pariksya deya kanya budhaih sesamacintanīyam. Yama in

<sup>5.</sup> Śrīmate viduse yūne kulināya yaśasvine, udārāya sanāthāya kanyā deyā

riding and dhanurvidyā (111.18, 19). Thus among the kṣatriyas, besides the common qualities mentioned above, certain auxiliary qualities were required, which included, valour and knowledge of some special vidyās necessary for a kṣatriya. The Br. P. provides one more instance from which the standard of a bridegroom could be judged. Thus when Siva was not invited in the yajūa conducted by Dakṣa, Satī, Siva's wife, asked her father Dakṣa the reason why her husband was neglected when the husbands of all her sisters were invited. Dakṣa thereupon answered that Siva could never stand in the same line along with his other sons-in-law as they were śreṣṭha, variṣṭha, brahmiṣṭha, observing vratas, great yogins—from all the points of view superior; whereas Siva had none of these qualities (34.16-19).

Kātyāyana states that persons with the following defects were to be avoided as bridegrooms: the lunatic, the guilty of grave sins, the leprous, the impotent, one belonging to the same gotra, one bereft of eyesight or hearing, an epileptic adding that these defects are to be avoided among brides also.

A study of Sütras and Smṛtis reveals that the rules for the selection of the bride were far more elaborate than those for selecting a groom, though in some respects they are the same. The Āśvalāyang Gṛhya Sūtra states that one should marry a girl who is endowed with intelligence, beauty, good character and health. The Br. P. describes the good qualities, viz. beauty, youth and devoted service of the parents-in-law as worthy qualities in a bride (111.51).

It is stated that a bride coming from a noble family is the greatest helpmate in a husband's life, (167.25).

As regards the defects to be avoided in brides, Nārada states: When they suffer from long-standing or disgusting diseases, when they are devoid of a limb or have already had a relationship with another man, when they are wicked or have their minds set on another, they should not be selected.<sup>8</sup> The Br. P. states that one

 Buddhirūpaśilalaksaņasampannāmarogāmupayaccheta, Āśv. Gr. 1.5-3, vide also Āp. Gr. 111.20

<sup>6.</sup> Unmattah patitah kuşthi tathā sandha svagotrajah cakşuśrotravihīnaśca tathāpasmāraduşitah, varadoşā smṛtāh hyete kanyādosāśca kīrtitāh. Smṛticandrikā I p. 59.

<sup>8.</sup> Dirghakutsitarogārtā vyangā samsīstamaithunā, Dustānyagatabhāvā ca kanyādosāh prakīrtitāh Nārada (strīpumsavosa; 30) ed by S3 Foundation USA

should not select a bride who is without a limb, is of a bad character or who has many diseases.

The Mānava Gr.S. I. 7.8, Manu III.11 and Ys. I.53 state that the girl to be chosen must not be brotherless. In ancient times when a man had no son, the daughter possessed the status of a son, i.e. she herself became putrikā. She was married on the condition that the son born of her would be her father's son and would offer pindas as a son to his maternal grandfather. The result was that the son of such a girl would not offer pindas to his own father and would not continue the line of his father. In medieval times this prohibition against marrying a brotherless girl came to be gradually ignored and as P.V. Kane sarcastically remarks in modern times the pendulum has swung the other way, a brotherless girl being a coveted prize if her father is rich. 10

The Br. P. also does not seem to regard the state of being a putrikā as a defective trait in a bride. It quotes marriage according to the 'putrikāvidhi' and states that the son of a putrikā has also the right to perform the śrāddha of his maternal grandfather (22. 77). In the family of the sage Atri, ten daughters were married to Prabhākara according to putrikāvidhi (13.11-13). The Br. P. further states that in a relationship of marriage equal status of both the parties was one of the main considerations (111.27). In settling a marriage both the parties considered the family, wealth, learning, occupation and good character of each other and the good looks and age of the proposed partners (165.19). Beauty was considered a very important requirement in a bride. The Br. P. describes the worries Surya suffered when settling the marriage of Vişți, his daughter, who was plain looking. Surya was finally reduced to finding out an equally ugly husband. She was eventually married to Viśvarūpa, the son of Tvaștā (165.18-27). The same anxiety regarding an ugly sister is expressed by the sage Bhāradvāja, when

<sup>9.</sup> The text gives the reading as 'vyanginim varjayetkanyām kulajām vāpyaro-giņīm which seems to be wrong, the reading of ms 'ka', viz. 'vyanginim varjayetkanyām kulatām cātirogiņīm' seems to be the better reading. The ms ga reads 'kulajā' according to the text but reads 'atirogiņī for 'arogiņīm' (221.73). Or it may mean that one should not marry a girl physically defective or one who has a disease even though she be born in the noble family.

<sup>10.</sup> Kane, op. cit., pp. 435-436. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

he is unable to settle the marriage of his sister Revatī. At last he asks his pupil Kaṭha to marry his ugly sister Revatī by way of gurudakṣiṇā and as the pupil could not deny whatever is asked by the teacher, therefore Kaṭha married Revatī (A.121). This shows what a great part beauty played in the life of a girl.

### Age at Marriage

The discussion of the qualifications of the bride and the bridegroom leads us to a discussion of their age at the time of marriage. GDS. (IV.1) and Vas. (8.1), Manava Gr.S. I.7.8 and Ys.I.52 and many others agree that the girl must be younger than the bridegroom. The Br.P. also states that marriage of a bridegroom younger than his bride is not proper and illustrates the point with the story of the sage Vrddha-Gautama.11 It further states that a young maiden for an old maid is as beneficial as nectar, 12 and that the marriage of a young man with an old woman is considered to be 'istānistasamāyoga' (a.107). The Br.P. provides another instance where the marriage of a young bridegroom with a bride much older than him has been made possible. Thus it is said that king Jyāmagha brought a maiden from a victorious campaign and presented her to his wife saying that she would be their future daughter-in law. It is to be noted that king Jyamagha had at that time no son. Later on his wife practised severe penance and gave birth to a son. When the son came of age, he was married to the girl who of course had grown much older than him. (14.17-21). Again age does not seem to have come in the way of the marriage of Māyāvatī with Pradyumna, Kṛṣṇa's son. It is said that Māyāvatī who was acting as the wife of the demon Sambara found Pradyumna, Lord Kṛṣṇa's son, in the belly of a fish when he was just six days old. She brought him up and as he grew up she fell in love with him. Pradyumna himself was astonished to discover her feelings and asked her why she showed towards him feelings other than those of a mother. Eventually Lord Kṛṣṇa made it clear that Māyāvatī and Pardyumna were Ratī and Kāmadeva in

<sup>11.</sup> Aham bālastvam to vrddhā naivāyam ghatate mithah, 107.31.

<sup>12.</sup> Vişam vrddhasya yuvatı vrddhyā amrtam yuvā, Iştāniştasamāyoga drstoasmābhiraho virasharoy cylection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

their previous lives, and there was nothing improper in their marrying in this life also. They were finally married (a.200).

Besides the relative age of bride and groom in general, the Br. P. does not say much about the age of the bridegroom in particular. But it seems that a man was married at quite a mature age as he had to enter the Grhasthāśrama after completing the Brahmacary-And this conjecture can be supported by many instances furnished throughout the Br.P. A detailed discussion on the age of the bride is given in the section 'position of women' but it might be made clear here that though the Br.P. at one place advocates in express terms pre-puberty marriage (165-13-14), the examples it furnishes throughout, viz. those of Ahalyā (a.87), Pārvatī (a.36), Usā (a.205), Rukmiņī (a.199), Ilā (a.108), suggest that marriages of the girls took place at a mature age.

#### Types of Marriage

The types of marriage can be classified on the basis of numeric variation in marriage, i.e. the variation of the number of consorts united to each other and accordingly the types usually listed are monogamy, polygamy, polyandry and group-marriages.13 As regards group-marriages, the Br.P. does not provide any information, therefore, it can safely be eliminated from the discussion.

Monogamy: This is not only the most important type of marriage, but also a commonly preferred one. The ideal monogamous unions are exemplified in the Br. P. by Rāma and Sītā (a.159), and Siva and Parvatī (a. 34.43-45), though, of course, Pārvatī sneers at Šiva's attachment to Gangā, the river (175.38). King Jyāmagha did not remarry even when his wife Saibyā had no issue till she gave birth to Vidarbha at an advanced age after practising severe penance. (15.12-18).

Polygamy: Polygamy is that form of union in which a man has more than one wife at a time.14 Though, monogamy seems to have been the ideal and was probably the rule, the practice of

<sup>13.</sup> Malinowski: Marriage, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 14, p. 949.

<sup>14.</sup> Kapadia K.M., Marriage and Family in India, p. 949.

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polygamy among the Vedic Aryans is abundantly proved by direct references in the Rgveda and other texts. In the Br. P. some personages are stated to be polygynists while some others are stated to be bigamists. The Br. P. also notes the cases of sororate polygyny where the co-wives are sisters. Thus Prajāpati Dakṣa had sixty daughters out of whom ten were given to Dharma, thirteen to Kasyapa, twentyseven to Soma, four to Aristanemi, two to Bahuputra, two to Angirasa and two to Kṛṣāśva (3.26,27). The seven daughters of Devaka were given in marriage to Vasud va (15-57). Bhajamāna had two wives Bāhyakasrnjayī and Upabāhvakasrnjayī, the daughters of king Srnjaya (32-33). All these are the cases of sororate polygyny where marriage is with two or more sisters. According to Prof. Radcliffe Brown, the sororate polygyny can be attributed to the fact that co-wives who are sisters are less likely to quarrel than two who are not related, 15 and thus likely to maintain the peace and solidarity of the family.

	The following	is the list of Polygynists
Name of the Polygynist		Name number of the consorts
1.	Dharma	Ten daughters of Dakşa, viz. Arundhatī, Vasu, Yamī, Lambā Bhānu, Marutvatī, Samkalpā, Muhūrta,
2.	Kaśyapa	Sandhya and Vişvā (3.29) Thirteen daughters of Dakşa, viz. Aditi, Diti, Danu, Arişţā, Surasā, Khasā, Surabhi, Vinatā, Tamrā, Krodhavaśā, Irā, Kadrū and Muni (3.51,52)
3.	Soma	Twenty Seven daughters of Dakşa.  All of them had the names of Nakşatras but their names are not given (3.34).
4.	Arişţanemi	Four daughters of Dakşa. The names are not given (3.27).
5.	Prabhākara	Ten daughters of king Raudrāśva: Bhadrā, Śūdrā, Madrā, Śaladā,
10 -	A NEW YORK OF THE PARTY OF THE	

<sup>15.</sup> Radeliffe Brown A.R. Sistructure and Function in Primitive Societies Ren 80 SA

Name of the Polygynist.

Name/number of the consorts

6. Usīnara

Maladā, Khaladā, Naladā, Surasā, Gocapalā, Strīratnakūţā (13.7,8). Five wives: Nṛga, Kṛmi, Navā

7. Ajamidha

Darvā, Dṛṣadvatī (13.21). Three wives: Nīlī, Keśinī, and Dhūminī (13.82)

8. Vasudeva

Fourteen wives: Pauravi, Rohini, Madirādi, Vaišākhi, Bhadrā, Sunāmnī, Sahadevā, Sāntidevā, Srīdevī, Devarakșită, Vrkadevi, Upadevi, and Devakī and Two paricārikās Sutanu and Vadava (14.36viz. 38)16

Elsewhere it is mentioned that the seven daughters of Devaka were given to Vasudeva, viz. Devakī, Šāntidevā. Sudevā, Devaraksitā, Vıkadevi, Upadevi, and Sunāmni (15.56.57)

Satrajit

He had ten wives. The names are not mentioned. (16.45)

10. Dasaratha

Three wives: Kauśalya, Sumitra and Kaikeyī (123.85)

11. Kamsa

It is stated that Kamsa had many wives but the number and their names are not mentioned. (190.7) Sixteen thousand one hundred and eight wives out of whom the following are mentioned: Rukmini Kalindī, Mitravindā, Satyā, Nagna jītī, Jāmbavatī, Rohinī, Suśīlā, the daughter of the king of Madra, Satrajitī, Satyabhāmā and Lakş-

maṇā (201.3-5), (16.41,47).

12. Kṛṣṇa

<sup>16.</sup> The names are not given in MSS. 'kha' and 'ga' and the fact of Rohini being the daughter of King Bahlika is not mentioned in the MS. 'ka'.

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#### The following is the list of bigamists

	Sagara	Keśinī, the daughter of the king of
1.		Vidarbha and Mahatī, the daugh-
		ter of Arişţanemī (8.63-64)
2	Yayāti	Devayānī, the daughter of Usanas
4.		and Sarmistha, the daughter of
		Vṛṣaparvā (12.5-6).
3.	Krostu	Gändhärī and Mādri (14.1)
	Madhu	The daughter of a king of Vidarbha
4.		and the daughter of a king of
		Ikşvāku line (14.28).
	Bhajamana	Bāhyakasrñjayī and Upabāhyaka-
٥.	Diajaman	sṛñjayī, the daughters of king
		Srnjaya (15.22).
6.	Kesarī	Añjanā and Adrikā (84.3).
Dista:		
7.	Aniruddha	The granddaughter of Rkmī (201.8)
		and Uṣā, Bāṇāsura's daughter
	The Park and Service	(a.205)
8.	Sūrya	Uṣā, the daughter of Tvaṣṭā and
	Andrew Service In a	Chāyā. (165.2)

Polyandry: Polyandry is a form of union in which a woman has more than one husband at a time or in which brothers share a wife or wives in common.<sup>17</sup>

There is difference of opinion regarding the existence of polyandry in Vedic times. Scholars like M.M. Kane<sup>18</sup> and Dr Altekar<sup>19</sup> deny the existence of polyandry in Vedic society, while Dr. Upadhyaya maintains that it existed.<sup>20</sup>

The oft-cited and the most controversial instance of the polyandrous union of Draupadī with the five Pāṇḍava princes is not mentioned by the Br. P. But the Br. P. mentions an instance of the polyandrous union of Māriṣā, the daughter of Soma, with

<sup>17.</sup> Kapadia K.M., op. cit., p. 52.

<sup>1:.</sup> HDs. Vol. II, p. 554.

<sup>19.</sup> Altekar A.S.: The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation, pp. 34-35.

<sup>20.</sup> Upadhyaya B.S.: Women in Rgveda (p. 112); vide also Majumdar R.C., Ideal and Position of Indian Women in Domestic life, Great Women of India, p.o7; and Kapadiar K. Meçtop, city, pphil 1931 19ed by S3 Foundation USA

the ten Prācetasas, the sons of Prajāpati. (2.31-32), (34.46). This is a case of adelphic or fraternal polyandry which means marriage of a woman with two or more brothers.<sup>21</sup>

#### Forms of Marriage

From the times of the grhyasūtras, dharmasūtras and smṛtis the ancient Indian law recognised the eight forms of marriage denoting the method of consecrating a marriage union viz. brāhma, daiva, ārṣa, prājāpatya, āsura, gāndharva, rākṣasa.

The Br. P. refers to the raksasa form of marriage though the mode differs. Thus it states that Lord Kṛṣṇa married Rukmini according to the raksasa form of marriage.22 It so happened that when Lord Kṛṣṇa asked Rukmī for the hand of Rukmiṇī, Rukmī decided to give her to Sisup la through malice. On the day previous to that of the marriage, Kṛṣṇa carried away Rukmiṇī and a terrible fight ensued between both the parties and eventually Rukmī was defeated and Lord Kṛṣṇa succeeded in marrying Rukminī (a,199). Here though the bride is captured by force, her unwillingness to the consummation is not stated.23 The disapproval of the kanyāharana form of marriage in the Br. P. can be seen from the fact that it states that to carry away a bride from the mandapa was a great adharma and such a person was disowned by his father and it did not rain in the country in which such an act took place (7.98). Though the term 'gandharvavivāha' is not expressly used still the enjoyment of Aniruddha and Uşā with each other depending on their sole desire without prior permission of elders fulfills the conditions of the gandharva type of marriage (a.206).

The smrtis do not recognise a form of marriage which plays a great part in the Purāṇas. viz. the svayaṃvara or self-choice, a

22. The text reads "Rākşasena vidhānena but the MSS. 'ka' and 'kha' read

'Rākşasena Vivāhena'.

<sup>21.</sup> B. Malinowski States that in Tibet and the adjacent countries polyandry of the fraternal type exists. Among the Nāyars and the Toda, a sort of polyandry is practised (B. Malinowski, Marriage, Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 14, p. 949, also vide Vol. 18, p. 178).

<sup>23.</sup> Among predatory and warlike tribes marriage by capture is often common; indeed on account of the social and military honour attached to wife capture, it sometimes comes to be the favourite form of marriage.—
Ellwood Charles A.: Energiapaedia Americangi Volb 18,3 ppur 12-313SA

ceremony at which a princess chooses for herself a suitor at a great assembly held for the purpose. The act of choice might be preceded by a trial of strength on the part of the suitors, the victor being rewarded with the hand of the maiden or it might be an unconditional choice of the bride. The Br. P. refers to the marriage of Sītā where the condition of proficiency was to be fulfilled by the bridegroom and after showing his proficiency in the dhanurvidyā, Rāma obtained Sītā's hand (123.102-103). The Br. P. also furnishes the instance of the svayamvara of Parvati where no prior condition was prescribed to win her. Here Himālaya himself declares that whomsoever Pārvatī shall choose in the svayamvara, he shall be her husband (35-14). At the same time even in the svayamvara, the Brahma Purāņa provides a modification. When Lord Siva came to Pārvatī and asked her to marry him, Pārvatī replied that she was not independent and that her father had all the rights to select a husband for her.24 When Siva took his proposal to Himālaya for Pārvatī's hand Himālaya declared that Pārvatī would select a husband of her own choice in the svayamvara ceremony that was to take place very soon. (35.16).

Besides the above, the Br.P. refers to two other forms of marriage. It states that a kṣatriya can marry in many ways. If a bridegroom does not want to present himself at the time of marriage, he can send either his weapon or his ornament as his representative and the marriage could be performed (111.43,44). The Br.P. relates that as king Śūrasena's son had the form of a serpent, he sent his weapon without revealing the secret about his form and obtained a virtuous wife (a.111).

#### Limitations of Marrige-relationship

In the discussion connected with the institution of marriage the next vital problem is that of marital regulations governing

24. Bhagavanna svatantrāham pitā me evāgranīrgrhe, sa Prabhurmama dāne vai kanyāham dvijapumgava. gatvā yācasva pitaram mama śailendramavyayam, sa ceddadadāti mām vipra tubhyam taducitam mama.

35.9,10

endogamy and exogamy25 laid down in the dharmasastras. The exogamy of the Hindus has the following aspects: (i) gotra exogamy (ii) pravara exogamy (iii) sapinda exogamy. The Br.P. mentions only the sapinda exogamy. Opinion is divided regarding the meaning of the word 'sapinda' between two schools represented by Mitākşarā and the other by Jimutavahana (author of Dayabhaga). Both are agreed that a sapinda girl cannot be married. Yājñavalkya states that after the fifth generation on the mother's side and the seventh on the father's side the sapinda relationship ceases. According to the Mitāksarā the following rules regarding the prohibitions based on sapinda become effective: (1) in computing degrees, the common ancestor is to be included; (ii) regard is to be had to the father and mother of the bride and bridegroom both; (iii) if computation is made from the mother's side of either the proposed bride or bridegroom, they must be beyond the fifth degree from the common ancestor and if it is made through the father of either, they must be beyond the seventh from the common ancestor. According to the Dāyabhāga school, sapinda means one who is connected with another through oblations of food.26 The Br.P. differs somewhat and states that one can marry the seventh from his father's side and the fifth from his mother's side (221.73).

The rules about the prohibition of marriage on the ground of sapinda relationship, particularly where agnates were concerned, have not been observed in numerous instances over wide areas from very ancient times and the striking instance where the question is sharply divided is regarding the question whether a man can marry his maternal uncle's or his paternal aunt's daughter. The ADS. I.7.21.8 and II-5.11.16, GDS XI 20, BDS I.I.19.26 and Manu (XI. 172-173) forbid the marriage in both cases. But the BDS (1.1.19-26) states that to marry the daughter of the maternal uncle or of a paternal aunt was a practice peculiar to the south. North India did not accept such marriages and orthodox writers like Gautama and Baudhāyana reprobated such practice.27 Among those suppor-

<sup>25.</sup> For a summary of the different theories expounded to explain the rise of exogamy, vide Pandey R.B., Hindu Samskāru, pp. 296 ff.

<sup>26.</sup> For the detailed discussion, vide Kane P.V., op. cit. pp. 452-77; Karandikar S.V., Hindu Exogamy, Chs. 9-10.

<sup>27.</sup> Kane P.V., ibid, pp. 458-459.

ting such a marriage the most prominent are the Smrticandrikā (I pp.70-74) and the Parāšara Mādhavīya (I.2. pp.63-68).

The Br.P. provides two examples of the marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter and one example with paternal aunt's daughter. Pradyumna, the son of Lord Kṛṣṇa and Rukmini married the daughter of Rukmi, Rukmini's brother (201.6). Again Aniruddha, the son of Pradyumna, married the grand-daughter of Rukmī, the maternal uncle's daughter (201.7).

The Smṛticandrikā and the Parāšara Mādhavīya state that when a woman is married in one of the four forms, brāhma and others, she passes into the gotra of her husband, becomes a sapinda in the husband's family and so is severed from her father's family (in respect of gotra and sapinda relationship), but when a woman is married in the asura, gandharva and other forms she does not pass over into the gotra of her husband, but retains the gotra of her father and her sapinda relationship with her father and brother continues. Therefore, the son from such a marriage, marries the daughter of his mother's brother, he would be marrying a girl who is a sagotra and sapinda of his mother.28 It is to be noted that in the Br.P. Pradyumna who was born of the marriage of Kṛṣṇa and Rukminī performed by the rākṣasa type marriage, married his maternal uncle's daughter. The Sm.C. and the Par.M. and other works say that the smrti texts forbidding marriage with maternal uncle's daughter refer to a person whose mother was married in the gāndharva, āsura, rākṣasa and paiśāca forms, but not to a person whose mother was married in the brahma, and the other three approved forms. The Br.P., as has been seen, allows even the marriage with a maternal uncle's daughter of a person whose mother was married in the rāksasa form.

The Br.P. notes one instance of marriage with paternal aunt's daughter in which Anuhrāda, the grandson (son's son) of Mṛtyu and Hetī, the granddaughter (daughter's daughter) or Mrtyu were married (12-2.3).

The Br.P. provides one more instance of marriage within the same blood-relationship. It states that Simhikā, Diti's daughter

<sup>28.</sup> Kane P. V., op. cit., p. 435. Regarding cross-cousin marriages, vide Karve, Iravati,: Kinship Organisation in India, pp. 47 ff; 34 ff; Kapadia KCM PHindu Kinship pp; 6311 ft ion, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

married Vipracitti, Danu's son. Now Diti and Danu were sisters as well as co-wives of Kasyapa. Considering that Diti and Danu are co-wives Kasyapa and Vipracitti was his son by Danu and Simhikā was his daughter by Diti. (3.64-65. 78-79, 86).

As regards limitations in general it is stated that a younger brother should not marry before the elder one. One who does so is called a parivitti29 and he incurs sin according to the śāstras. The Br.P. states that as Kakşivan, the elder son of king Prthuśrava, did not marry on account of vairagya, his younger brother though willing also did not marry for fear that he would be called a parivitti (99.1-3). The Br.P. considers 'didhişūpati' also to be a sinner (227.27). Didhişūpati is technically explained as one who marries a younger sister while the elder sister is yet unmarried. 30 To be a son of parivedanikā, a younger sister who marries before the elder one, was also not considered to be good (220.130-131).

#### Marriage Ceremony

Among all people, savage as well as civilised, legal marriage is usually accompanied by some form of ceremony which expresses the sanction of the group to the union. This ceremony is of a magical or religious character, though, in a few people it is apparently purely social.31 All the texts concerning the ceremonies and rituals connected with vivāha refer to the bride as being given away by the father or her guardian in the family who invites the bridegroom. The bridegroom goes to the bride's home where the vivāha takes place. (199.4).

The Aśvalāyana Grhya sūtra deals with the following rites of marriage-ceremony, viz. kanyādāna, vivāha-homa, pāņigrahaņa, agni pariņayana, aśmārohaņa, lājāhoma and saptapadī. The Br. P. refers to the following rites:

- (1) Agnisthapana and Homa: It means establishing the fire and offering of ghee oblations into fire. Here there is great divergence
- 29. Kane P. V., op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 11; vide also Sarkar S. C.: Some aspects of early social history of India, section on brother-sister marriage, pp. 116-35, as quoted by Dr. Karve, Iravati, ABORI, Vol. XX, p. 46,

30. Kane P. V., ibid., p. 11.

<sup>31.</sup> Ellwood Charles A., op. cit., pp. 312-313.

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about the number of āhutis and the mantras to be recited.<sup>32</sup> Having placed a mile-stone to the west on the fire which is kindled symbolically as a divine witness and sanctifier of the saṃskāra, and having deposited a water-pot to the north-east of the fire, the bridegroom offers oblations, the bride participating in the offering by grasping the hand of the groom that makes the offering.<sup>33</sup>

The Br. P. states that lord Brahmī took the place of the upīdhyāya in the marriage of Siva with Pīrvatī and offered obla-

tion (36.127).

- (ii) Pāṇigrahaṇa: The word is used in the Br. P. to denote the entire marriage-ceremony though it really denotes one of the elements of the rites of the ceremony (8.7), viz. taking hold of the bride's hand. Here the bridegroom stands facing the west, while the bride sits in front of him with her face to the east and seizes her hand reciting the Vedic mantra (viz. rv. X.85.36). The Br. P. also states that the mantras were recited in the pāṇigrahaṇa (8.7).
- (iii) Kušabandhana: The Br. P. states that the hands of the bride and the bridgroom were tied by kuša, a particular kind of grass (36.130).
- (iv) Lājāhoma: In this the bride offers a sacrifice of fried grain, which is poured in her hands by her brother or a person acting in her brother's place to the gods Aryamān, Varuṇa, Pūṣan, with Agni as the intercesor on her behalf in order that these four may be pleased to release her from the bonds. The Br. P. states that Maināka, Pārvatī's father, was ready with lājā and the ceremony of lājāhoma was performed in her marriage (72.14-16).
- (v) Agniparinayana: The bridegroom walking in front takes the bride round the fire and water jar reciting the mantras. The Br. P. states that after lājāhoma, Siva and Pārvatī circumambulated the fire (72.16), (36.132).

<sup>31.</sup> Asv. Gr. 1.73 & 1.4.3-7, AP. Gr. V. 1, Gobbila Gr.II.1 24-26, Mānava Gr. 1.8, Bharadvāja. I.13.

<sup>33.</sup> Prabhu P.N., Hindu Social Organisation, p. 167.

<sup>34.</sup> Ibid. p. 168. Stide also Kame Processor, New Delhi, Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

(vi) Aśmarohana: In this with the helping hand of the groom, the bride treads on the stone and he recites the mantra. The Br. P. states that in order to touch the stone, Pārvatī touched the right foot of Lord Śiva (72.17-18).

(vii) Saptapadī: This is the most important rite in the whole saṃskāra. This is done to the north of the fire, where seven small heaps of rice are placed and the bridegroom makes the bride step on each of these seven with her right foot beginning from the west. The Br. P. states that Satyavrata, Trayyāruṇa's son, carried away a maiden when her marriage-ceremony was taking place and while the saptapadī was being performed. For his ignoble act, his father abandoned Satyavrata (7.97-100), (8.7).

#### Marriage-Celebration

The graphic description of Siva's marriage with Parvati is witness to the fact that the occasion of marriage was then even as now an occasion of great joy and festivity. The description of Pārvatī gives an idea as to with what pomp the ceremony was celebrated. Himālaya had invited the gods, demons and siddhas for the marriage-ceremony, and they came in all their splendour. Before all these gods, Pārvatī chose Siva as her husband and kept her garland on his feet (36.52,53). In order to celebrate the marriage ceremony the gods constructed a beautiful city studded with all types of jewels. Vāyu brought fragrant wind, Sun and Moon brought there shining jewels, the gandharvas began to play musical instruments, the sages recited the kathas, the divine maidens began to sing and all the six seasons began to blow fragrant winds; and came there with their various splendours (36.54-125), Viśvakarmā constructed a bejewelled altar, Ila performed the Bhuvah karma, the auşadhīs performed the annakarma, Varņa the pānakarma, Kubera the dānakarma, Viṣṇu the pujākarma and the Vedas began to sing, the gandharvas and the kinnaras also joined them and the apsarāsas began to dance (72.9-14). Pārvatī was well-decorated with ornaments and Himālaya himself came and introduced Pārvatī in the hall (36.126).

<sup>35.</sup> Prabhu P.N., op. cit., p. 169,

<sup>36.</sup> Kane, op. cit., p. 534. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Though here the description pertains to the realm of mythology the human elements are still easily discernible.

### Inter-caste Marriages

Since Vedic times, the literature speaks of inter-caste marriages. The Śatapath Brāhmaṇa relates the marriage of Cyavana, a Bhārgava, with Sukanyā, the daughter of king Śaryāta.<sup>37</sup> Law-givers like Āpastamba condemn such marriages out and out while writers like Manu (III.12,13), Yājñavalkya (I.55 and 57), Vasiṣṭha (I.24), and Gautama permit the anuloma marriage, i.e. the marriage between the male of a higher varṇa with a woman of a lower varṇa, <sup>38</sup> but there was a difference of opinion about the approval of marriage of a twice-born with a śūdra woman.<sup>39</sup> But pratiloma marriage, i.e. the union of a woman of higher varṇa with a male of varṇa lower than her own was considered reprehensible and not permitted.<sup>40</sup>

The Br.P. provides the instances of both the anuloma and pratiloma marriages. The instances of the anuloma marriages are furnished by the marital relations of sage Samvarta with Samyatā, king Marutta's daughter (13.143, 144), the sage Reika with Satyavatī, king Gādhi's daughter (10.28, 29), among others (cf.10 51,13 5-8, 14.38, 107.30). The Br.P. notes one more instance which proves that cast-restrictions in marriage were not very rigid. Thus king Mahābala declares that anyone who is successful in rewarding eye-sight to his daughter would be allowed to marry her irrespective of his caste (227.72,73). These examples show that there was no bar to anuloma marriages. The instance of the pratiloma marriage is provided by the Br.P. in the case of the marriage of king Yayāti with Devayānī, the sage Uśanasa's daughter (12.5), (Mat.P.30.18).

The case of conjugal relationship between king Yayāti and Sarmiṣṭhā, the asura Vṛṣaparvan's daughter, provides an example of inter-communal marriage (12-6). It may be suggested that the marriage of Yayāti with Sarmiṣṭhā and Devayānī, probably, was an attempt to establish cordial relations between the belligerent asuras

<sup>37.</sup> Sat. Br.4.1.5; Kane op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 447 ff.

<sup>38.</sup> Cf. BDS 1.8.e, VIDS 24.1-4 etc. 39. Kane op. cit., p. 449.

<sup>40.</sup> For the views of various law-givers on this wide Kane aby Sis Foundation USA

and Āryans.<sup>41</sup> Many of the medieval digests and writers like the Smṛticandrikā and Hemādri quote verses from Brahma Purāṇa on matters forbidden in the Kali age among which inter-caste marriages are included. But these passages are not found in the present edition.

#### Niyoga

The institution of levirate was quite common in ancient times in several civilisations. In early societies a son by levirate was preferred to a son by adoption.42 There is a difference of opinion about the origin and purpose of this institution. Law-givers like Manu permit this practice while those like Apastamba condemn and forbid it. Under the system of niyoga if a woman's husband was dead or incapable of procreating children, she was allowed to have conjugal relations with her brother-in-law or some other near relative till she got one or two sons.43 But the Br.P. states the Vicitravīrya's wife had three sons, viz. Dhrtarāstra, Pāndu and Vidura by Krsnadvajpāvana (13,119-122). In the Mahābhārata when Kuntī raised three sons by niyoga and when her husband Pandu was not satisfied and asked her to have some more sons! Kuntī protested against the suggestion pointing out that the custom permitted only three sons by niyoga and no more.44 Here it may be noted that the Br.P. is silent 'about Bhīşma's services solicited for niyoga relations with the wife of Vicitravirya as given in the Mahābhārata.45

According to the smṛtikāras, the wife is called kṣetra, the husband is called kṣetrin or kṣetrika and the person appointed to produce offspring is called bījin or niyogin. The Br. P. states that Kṛṣṇadvaipāyana begot in the kṣetra of Vicitravīrya, the word kṣetra standing for the wife (13.119-122). The Br. P. also refers to the story of the birth of Pṛthā alias Kuntī, king Vṛddhaśarmā's

<sup>41.</sup> Kantawala, op. cit. p. 74.

<sup>42.</sup> Altekar: The position of Women in Hindu Civilisation, pp. 168.

<sup>43.</sup> Kane, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 601-607.

<sup>44.</sup> Mbh. I. 132-63-4.

<sup>45.</sup> Kane, HDS, Vol. II, p. 603; Meyer J.J., Sexual life in Ancient India, p. 165.
46. Vide Manu IX. 32, 33, 53, GDS 18.11, ADS II.6.13,6; Kane op. cit.,

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daughter. She was married to Pāṇḍu and had three sons, viz. Yudhiṣṭhira by Dharma, Bhīmasena by Vāyu and Dhanañjaya by Indra (14.19-21). The Br. P. does not reflect upon the conditions

necessary for niyoga.

This practice is forbidden in the Kali age. Aparārka quotes the Br. P. in stating that niyoga was included among practices forbidden in the Kali age. But this passage is not found in the present edition.<sup>47</sup>

#### Illicit Unions

#### The Br. P. notes the following instances of illicit unions:

- (1) Soma and Tārā: Soma carried away Bṛhaspati's wife, Tārā, and raped her. Bṛhaspati and Soma fought with each other and on the intervention of Brahmā, Bṛhaspati regained his wife but in a pregnant state. After the birth of her son, Bṛhaspati forced her to disclose the name of the father. After much hesitation, she named Soma. Thereupon Soma accepted the son with pleasure and named him Budha (a 9)
- (2) Garga and Ghoṣakanyā: In this instance, it is stated that Gopālī, a nymph who had assumed the form of a cow-herdess was carried off by Garga for cohabitation and the result of their union was the birth of Kālayavana (14.15-17).
- (3) Budha and Ilā: Budha, Soma's son, invited Ilā, Manu's daughter, for sexual intercourse. Here it should be noted that Ilā was a maiden when Budha cohabited with her (7.16).
- (4) Indra and Ahalyā: Indra slept with Ahalyā, sage Gautama's wife. He came to the hermitage in the disguise of Gautama and slept with Ahalyā during the sage's absence. On being discovered he was cursed to be a 'Sahasrāksa' for his abominable act. It is to be noted here that Ahalyā was very devoted to her husband and she had no knowledge of Indra's fraud (87.32-47).

<sup>47.</sup> Sirīnām punarvivāhastu devarātputrasamtatih,
svātantrye ca Kalixuge, kartavvam nankadācsum. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA
Br. P. quoted by Aparārka, p. 97.

- (5) Kārtikeya and the wives of various Gods: After Kārtikeya slew the demon Tāraka, Pārvatī permitted him all types of pleasures. Transgressing the limits of enjoyment, he compelled the wife of any god he desired to submit to him against her wishes. The wives of the gods complained to Pārvatī and when in spite of Pārvatī's objection, Kārtikeya did not improve his conduct, Pārvatī took the form of the wife of every god and when Kārtikeya saw his mother in all the female forms, he took a vow to regard all females as his mother (a.81). The opposition of the wives of the gods to sexual laxity may be noted here. We may also infer that incest with the mother was unimaginable.
  - (6) Mahī and Sanājjāta: After the death of her husband Dhṛtavrata, Mahī kept her son Sanajjāta in the hermitage of the sage Gālava and lived as a prostitute travelling from one place to another. In the course of her travels she met her own son who had by now grown up into a young man and was filled with passionate desire for him. When they found out their relationship, they went through the rites for the expiation. It must be clarified here that while other relations were through her profession as a prostitute her relation with her son was the result of a forbidden infatuation for him although conceived in ignorance of their mother-son relationship (a.92).
    - (7) Suvarņa, Suvarņā and others: Suvarņa and Suvarņā were the children of Agni and Svāhā, and they were married to Saṃkalpā and Dharma respectively, but they did not observe any rule of conjugal chastity and dallied with the persons of their own choice. Hence they were cursed. This pronouncement of the curse suggests that sexual freedom was not approved of (128,26-37).
      - (8) Brahmā and his daughter: Incest with one's sister is referred to in connection with the Vedic gods. Like Sūrya, Pūşan too, is the wooer of his mother and lover of his sister. Again Prajāpati is said to have committed incest with his daughter. The Br. P. also states that after creating a beautiful maiden, Brahmā conceived a

<sup>48.</sup> Keith, A.B.: The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanisads HOS, CC-0. 131 pailo7 yrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

lustful passion for her and the maiden taking fright assumed the form of a female deer. In order to preserve righteousness, lord Siva took the form of a hunter and threatened to kill Brahmā. Thereupon he desisted (a.102). An earlier version of this occurs in the Aitereya Brāhamaṇa.<sup>49</sup> The incest of Brahmā with his daughter is also referred to in the Maiṣya P. (3.31 ff. 4.1 ff.)

(9) Añjanā, Adrikā and Vāyu, Naīrṛti: Añjanā and Adrikā, the wives of the monkey Kesarī had their sons Hanumān and Adri by Vāyu and Nairṛti respectively who were enamoured of them when they were joyously singing on the peak of the Añjana-mountain (a.84).

The above instance would suggest that in some cases sexual morality was not obligatory in all forms of marriage. Many primitive tribes do not always regard marriage as an institution controlling sexual behaviour. A realistic analysis of the institution of marriage does not confound the theory and actuality in sex-behaviour nor does it derive conjugal life from sexual drive. To merge the two concepts is to forego an insight into the distinctively human element of the phenomenon.<sup>50</sup>

#### Kinds of Sons

The discussion regarding marriage leads us to the question of several kinds of sons.<sup>51</sup> The Br. P. does not speak of the kinds of sons and their legal and social status. But the two theories of sonship, viz.: (i) the biological theory and (ii) the sociological theory of sonship are both referred to in the Br. P. According to the biological theory as given in the Br. P., the mother is conceived merely as an incubator while the father is the real genitor of the

Prajānātham nātha prasabhamadhikam svām duhitaram gatam

Rohidbhūtām riramayişumīsyasya syavapuşā,

Dhanuşpaneryatam dinamapi sapatrakıtamamum trasanta tedyapi tyavati na mṛgavyādharabhaşah.

50. Patil D.R., Cultural History from the Vavu, pp. 158.

Ait. Br. 3.33, Sat. Br. 1.7.4.1. ff; Vide also Macdonell A.B.: Vedic Mythology, p. 119. This episode is beautifully summarised in the following sloka of the Mahimna Stotra:

<sup>51.</sup> For details regarding various sons, vide Kane, HDS, Vol. III, pp. 643 ff. Kapadia, op. Gitya Ppat 10. ff. Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

child. The son belongs to the father by whom he is begotten, so Tärä's declaration that Budha was Soma's child suggests that the child belonged to the biological father and not the social father (9.30-32). According to the sociological theory, "Fatherhood is defined as a social convention in terms of property rights. The progeny of a married woman belonged to her husband. A man was the father of all the children born to his wife and so even after the death of a man, a man could get children born to him (who claimed his parentage) through his widow provided she remained his widow. During his life-time, if a man was incapable of procreating children he could command his wife to get children for him from somebody."53

The Br. P. notes some cases of adoption of sons. Thus it is said that the sage Atri adopted Uttānapāda as his son (II.7), (15.12) and king Asamañjā adopted three sons (16.8). Marut, Karandhama's son, adopted Duşyanta of Puru's lineage as he had no son because of king Yayāti's curse (13.45). That the system of adoption prevailed can also be surmised from the term 'Dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa', i. e. the son who was born of one father and adopted by another, both the fathers considering him as their own son. He offered Piṇḍas to both of them and got their inheritance (220. 77).

#### II FAMILY

We shall continue our discussion on family with reference to the interrelationships of roles, viz., the husband, the wife, the son, the daughter, and the parents. The Br. P. throws considerable light on these relationships. As regards the relationships of wife and husband and the daughter and father, we shall describe them in the next section, viz., 'Position of women'. This section will deal with the relationships of father and son, brothers and other relatives-in-law.

The Son

Various sacrifices and religious vows were observed to obtain a son. The Br. P. mentions that Manu performed a Putrakāmeṣṭi to

<sup>52.</sup> Meyer J.J., op. cit., p. 201.

<sup>53.</sup> Karve, Iravati, Kinship terms and the Family Organisation as found in CC-the critical edition of the Mahabharata, BOCRI, Vol. VI (1943-44) p. 1,31.

obtain a son (vii.3), king Prācīnabarhis also performed a sacrifice with the same view. (153.3). King Bharata also performed many sacrifices to get a son (13.55-60). It was believed that by taking a bath and giving dāna, one gets sons. If one gives gold as dāna one gets a son. One who takes away the things given to and for protection, conceals jewels, does not perform the śrāddha, and has no progeny will still get sons by taking a bath in the river Gautamī (124.80-86).

The son is the highest solace of parents.<sup>54</sup> That son was considered blessed who saved the ancestors from hell.<sup>55</sup> The picture of an ideal son is provided by the Br. P. in the character of Munikumāra, the version of the famous Śravana story, though the

name of Śravana is not mentioned. (123.57)

It did not suffice merely to get a son; one wanted a good son. It is said that to have many sons is not important. It is only the worthy son that saves the family. One who is the resort of the family and who obliges the pitrs and saves them from hell is to be regarded as the son. The son who is not all this is merely a disease (165.41, 42). It is stated that a son who causes pain to his parents is a great sinner (214.124). Some people had powers to create sons of their own desires. Thus the sage Rcīka prepared two potsherds with a view to produce two sons, one for himself and one for his father-in-law who would be born in the forms of a righteous brāhmaņa and a brave kṣatriya respectively.

It is said that a son should not depend on his father for his maintenance. On the contrary, he should earn and distribute money among the relatives. A son who does otherwise is a mere yonikīţaka—a worm of the womb.<sup>56</sup>

A son should always follow his father in all his actions. The friends of his father are his friends and the enemies of the father are his enemies. If he acts otherwise, he is an enemy in the form of a son.<sup>57</sup> In this world the embrace of a son is the highest source of peace for the father (154.19, 20).

<sup>54.</sup> Magnānām duḥhapāthobdhau putraḥ pravahaṇam param, 108.81.

<sup>55.</sup> Dhanyah sa putro lokesmin pitrnām yastu tārakāh, 123.186.
56. Svabāhubalamāśritya yo'rthānarjayate sutah, Sa kṛtārtho bhavelloke paitryam vittam na tu spṛśet.
Svayamārjya suto vittam pitre dāsyati bandhave, tam tu putram vijāniyāditaro yonikīṭakah 170.12-13.

<sup>57.</sup> Pittrmiträni sarumsca tathā putronuvartate.
Sa eva putro yoʻnyastu putrarupo ripuh saritahi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA
Vadahti pitrmitrani tarayantyahitanapi. 110.85, 86.

The Father

Since the Vedic times, the apotheosis of the father has given him the position of the head of the family. The children act according to the commands of the father. There are, however, instances of refractory sons who would not accede to their father's wishes and were severely punished to suffer all their lives. The Br. P. states that king Yayati requested his son Yadu, Turvasu. Druhyu and Anu for an exchange of youth so that he would enjoy the pleasures of life but they flatly declined and were cursed by Yayati for disobedience. At last, Yayati approached Puru, his youngest son, with his request. Puru obediently and willingly gave his youth to his father. Being pleased with Puru, he disinherited the others setting aside the claim of primogeniture (adh. 12) Moreover, if a son misbehaved, the father could turn him out of the family. The Br. P. notes that when Satyavrata, the son of the king Trayyāruna. carried away a maiden from the sacrificial mandapa, king Trayyāruņa was very angry and asked Satyavrata to leave his country (7.97-104). This indicates that the authority of the father was recognised as absolute and unquestionable.

It was considered to be the important duty of the father to get his son married. His responsibility did not end with bringing him into the world. It was his duty to see that his children got all the samskāras. A father who did not discharge all his responsibilities suffered in hell.58 The Br. P. gives one instance of a father giving a name to the son. When it was decided that Tārā's child belonged to Soma, Soma affectionately smelt his head and called him Budha (9.31). It is difficult to generalise from this one instance that the father used to give children their names. The influence of heredity on children was considered so great that it was believed that even though one were pure by nature, he could commit mistakes from faults in the nature of his ancestors. Thus it is said that Vena practised unrighteousness as he had a vicious maternal grandfather, viz. Mṛtyu (4.30). If the parents are haughty, the child becomes haughty (10.43)

<sup>58.</sup> Janayitvā 'tmajānvedavidhinā'khilasamskrtih. na kuryādyah pita tasya narakānnāsti niskṛtih. 111.11

### Mother and daughter

Generally the relationship of a mother and daughter is very cordial but the Br. P. notes two curious instances where it is otherwise. Thus Paurā, Gādhi's wife, deceived her daughter Satyavatī by interchanging the potsherds prepared by her son-in-law Rcika, Satyavatī's husband, to get a virtuous brāhmana as her own son and allotted the portion meant for procreating a lustrous kşatriya to Satyavatī (10.38-40). Mainā, the mother, pokes fun at Umā, i.e. Pārvatī, by saying that her husband was miserably poor (38.26, 27).

#### Brothers

The Br. P. notes instances which reflect the relationship between brothers. Dakşa Prajāpati had many children. Among them, a group of children, called Haryasvas, went to various places in order to increase the progeny and did not return. To search for them another group of sons called Sabalasvas went after them and did not return. From then on the saying that brothers going after brothers perish, came into vogue (3.16-24). The relations between brothers did not always remain so cordial. The Br. P. states that Jyāmagha was driven out from the kingdom by his brothers and he had to conquer various countries for himself (14.13-15).

The relationship of step-brothers was marked by jealousy and the mothers of the respective children played important parts in worsening relationships. The Br. P. highlights the fight between the step-brothers Kubera and Rāvaņa, Kumbhakarņa and Vibhīṣaņa (97.370). The famous example of the enmity between step-brothers viz. that of gods and demons, is also referred to by the Br. P. (A.32).

#### Son-in-Law

The position of a son-in-law is of particular significance in the Hindu family. The parents-in-law are eager to please him as the happiness of their daughter depends completely on him. At the same time if the son-in-law ill-treated the daughter, her father intervened and asked for fair treatment. Thus when Samjñā, Tvașțā's daughter, unable to bear the lustre of the sun (Sūrya) her husband), left her home and came to her father's house, he advised her to return to her husband's house. But when he saw that she CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

was adamant he allowed her to practice penance in the forest. Later when Sūrya came to Tvaṣṭā's house he was given a hearty reception but Tvaṣṭā advised Sūrya to lessen his lustre so that his daughter could be happy with him. Whereupon the sun pared his brightness on Tvaṣṭā's wheel (a.6.30 ff.).

The Br. P. also gives the instance of Dakşa's attitude towards his son-in-law Siva to show inequality of treatment among sons-in-law. (34.7-24).

Thus while the Br. P. reinforces the norms of marriage and family as established by the Dharma Sastra, it also modifies them to suit the changes in times and places. It seems that during the times of Br. P. ideals were upheld with fervour but practice showed considerable relaxation.

#### III THE POSITION OF WOMEN

The status of women in a society can be determined by the relative feelings evoked by the birth of a son and a daughter. In ancient times in India, the birth of a daughter was not a very welcome event. Even in the Indo-Iranian age, the birth of a daughter was not an event to celebrate.<sup>59</sup> The marriage hymn of the Rgveda refers to a prayer for ten sons, without any reference to that of a daughter. The AV. (III 23, VI-11) contains charms and rituals to ensure the birth of a son in preference to a daughter. The AB says that while the son is the hope of the family, the daughter is the source of trouble to it.<sup>60</sup>

A daughter was not greeted at birth, not because the father had no love for her, but because of the great concern felt for a daughter's virtue and well-being. From the same anxiety the Br. P. also seems to express the sentiment that the birth of a daughter was unwelcome. It states that as long as the daughter was not married, she was a great burden to her parents and the parents were greatly worried about her; that no one should have a daughter as she is

Putrah parame vyoman. Ait Br. vii. 13, cf. also Mbh I. 173.10: Ātmā putrah sakhī bhāryā Krechram tu duhitā nṛṇam. Mbh. Cr. ed., 1.147-11,

Geiger, Civilisation of the Eastern Iranians, pp. 53-4.
 Sakhā hi jāyā kṛpaṇam hi duhitā jyotirhi

<sup>61.</sup> Kane P.V., HDS. Vol. II, pp. 510-511.
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the very death of every person during all the stages of his life.62 In order to avoid the birth of a daughter, one should not have sexual intercourse on the fifth day (221.75). This led to the lamentable attitude shown towards girls; otherwise they are depicted in a favourable light. There are frequent references in the Rv. to daughters being fully cared for and brought up affectionately by parents. They were lovingly treated by parents and protected by the strength of their father and brother.63 Manu performed a sacrifice to get a son (Putrākamesti) but when he offered an oblation in honour of Mitra and Varuna, a maiden arose from the sacrifice and Manu accepted her as his daughter, received her with joy and named her Ilā (7.5,6). When Himavān asked for the boon of a son, Brahmā offered him a daughter through whom he would get fame; she would symbolise the merit of the worship of all the gods and a pilgrimage to all the holy places (34.77-79). The Br. P. notes also that a daughter is the means to obtain dharma. The whole earth together with its mountains and forests is considered equal to a healthy decorated maiden and a father who gives the dana of such a daughter obtains the merit of Prthvidana (165.9-10).64

## Age at Marriage

As regards the age of girls at the time of marriage, it should be noted that in the Rgveda child-marriage is not referred to and girls were given away at a fairly mature age. The custom continued up to the time of the Grhyasūtras, i.e. 5th century B.C. From the time of the Dharmasūtras, i.e. from 400 B.C. to 100 A.D., the opinions are found slowly growing in favour of an early marriage of girls. Gradually, the marriage of a girl before puberty came to be the general rule. Manu advocates the marriage of girls even at the age of eight (9.94) but a latter Smṛti writer advocates the marriage of girls at a very early age, literally when they could go about naked without indecency, and adds that she must be

<sup>62.</sup> Bhagavat Saran Upadhyaya: Women in Rgveda, p. 33 ff:

Aho Bhūyānna kasyāpi kanyā dukhaikakāranam,
 Māranam jīvato pyasya prāninastu pade pade. 121-5.

<sup>64.</sup> The last idea expressed in the above sentiment is not noted in the MS 'gha.'

married before puberty, even if no suitable husband was available ss The later smrti writers put ten as the limit beyond which marriage could not be postponed without dire consequence to the father: marriage at eight was strongly recommended by some.66 other advocates of pre-puberty marriages were not happy with the age at 8 or 9 and an extreme section clamoured for a much lower age as seen in the Brahma Purāņa which states that a girl should be married any time after four. She should be given away in marriage between her fourth and tenth years when she does not feel shyness and is still playing with toys. If the father fails to arrange the marriage during this period, he will suffer in hell.67

From about 200 A.D. popular feeling leaned towards prepuberty marriages i.e. marriage of girls designated by terms Gauri. Nagnikā and Rohiņī.68 In an ancient gāthā, the Br. P. extols the marriage of a gauri-girl as highly meritorious and pleasing to the pitrs (220.33). According to the Valikhānasa Smārtasūtra (6.12). a gauri is a maiden who is between ten and twelve and has not had menstruation while according to Parāśara (7.6-9) a girl of eight is designated as a gauri and according to some, she is a maiden of seven. 59 In the 'bhavisyakathana' it is predicted that in future women having an age less than sixteen years would give birth to children (230,10).

Thus in early times when brides were married at a mature age, they had a more or less effective voice in the selection of their partners in life. There are references in the Rv. to beautiful brides selecting their own husbands.70 The svayamvara marriages of

65. Dadyādguņavate kanyām nagnikām brahmachārine, api vā guņahingya noparundhyādrajasvalām. quoted in SCS (Smrticandrikā, Samskarakānda), p. 216.

66. Majumdar R.C.: Ideal and Position of Women in Domestic life, Great

Women of India, p. 15.

67. Caturthādvatsarādūrdhvam Yāvanna daśamātyayah, tāvadvivāhah kanyāyāh pitrā kāryah prayatnatah. 165.7. Yāvatlajjām na janāti yāvatkridati pāmsubhih, tāvatkanyā pradātavy no cetpitroradhogati. 165.8.

68. Altekar A.S.: op. cit. p. 67; Kane P.V., op. cit., Vol. II, p. 443.

69. For details vide Kane P.V., HDS, Vol. II, pp. 440 ff.

70. Bhadrā vadhūrbhavati yatsupešāh svayam, sā mitram. kṛṇute Jane it, Rv.X. 27.12. For the practice of pre-puberscent marriages vide Prof Indra: The Status of Women in Ancient India, pp. 41-52 CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi: Dignized by S3 Foundation USA

Sāvitrī, Damayantī and Rukminī are well-known but in later times when early marriages came in vogue, svayamvara naturally died away and though it refers to it, the Brahma Purāṇa definitely disapproves of it in one place. In this incident the moon cursed Svadhā his daughter for having selected a husband without asking his permission to be changed into the river Kokā.71

In the asura type of marriage, a husband used to get a bride by paying a reasonable price for her to her parents. In keeping with the Dharmasastra the Br. P. also states that one who sells a daughter or a cow or sesame or a horse never gets out of the Raurava hell (165.11, 12) (214.126). In pre-historic times the dowry system was generally unknown since women were regarded as chattel. In rich and royal families however, some gifts used to be given to sons-in-law at the time of marriages. (vide Raghuvamša VII. 32.

The Br. P. therefore mentions how Sūrasena presented his daughter with cows, gold, clothes, horses and ornaments at the time of her marriage (III. 48, 49); also when Sāmba was married to the daughter of king Duryodhana, she was given much wealth (208.39).

# Women and Wife

We have so far considered the status of a daughter. Let us now consider the position of a wife. A wife is called Jāyā because the husband was born in the wife as a son (Ait. Brāhamaṇa 33.1). Even according to the Rgveda the aim of marriage was to enable a man, by becoming a householder, to perform sacrifices to the gods and to procreate sons. Manu (ix. 28) adds that on the wife depend heaven for oneself and for one's ancestors. Jaimini (VI. 1, 17) establishes that husband and wife have to perform sacrifices together and not separately and Ap. Dh. S. (II-6, 13.16-17) emphatically states that there can be no separation between husband and wife, for from the time of marriage they have to perform religious acts jointly. (Jāyāpatyorna vibhāgo vidyate pāṇigrahaṇād hi sahatvam karmasu).

According to ancient Indian ideals, the wife is one half of man; hence as long as he does not obtain her, is he not regenerated

<sup>71.</sup> Yasmāddhṛtavatī ceyam patīnpitṛmatī satī,

Svatantrā dharmamutsrjya tasmādbhavatu nimnagā//219.16, 17,

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for so long is he incomplete.72 The Br. P. also that as according to the sruti, a sacrifice cannot entail merit unless performed with a wife; Brahmā divided himself into two parts and made out of the former half a woman according to the śruti ardho (according to MS 'ka', 'ardham') Jāyā (129.61, 62).73 Thus the ideal of a wife as ardhāngī is advocated by the Br. P. also. To look upon husband and wife as complementaries which make up a whole is the true implication of married life.74 Like the Mbh., the Br. P. also expresses the noble sentiment that a wife is a symbol of auspiciousness, an enhancer of happiness, a generator of dharma, the onwer of her husband's body, a helpmate in securing dharma, artha, kāma, and moksa, a source of happiness in a contented condition, a relief in pain, a friend in solving the problems, always abiding by the husband's words, devoted to the husband and beloved of her husband.75

The Br. P. further states that a house without a wife is bereft of all its splendour and that even though a house might be terrible in appearance, it looks lustrous due to the presence of the

- 72. Ardho ha vaisa ātmanstasmādyāvajjāyam na vindate ardho he tāvadbhavati atha yadaiva jāyām vindate 'tha prajāyate tarhi sarvo bhavati/SB. V. 1.6.10; also sa Roksyajjāyāmāmantrayate, jāye chisvo rohāveti, Rohāvetyah jāyā, tasmājjāyamamantrayate, ardho ha vaisa ātmano yajjāyā SB. v. 2.1,10, cf. also ardham bhāryā manusyasya bhārya sreşthatamah sakhā, Mbh. bhāryā mūlam trivargasyā bhāryā mūlam tarisyatah. Adi 74.40; Āmnāye smṛtitantrā ca lokācāre ce sūribhih, Sarīrārdham smṛtā bhāryā Punyāpunyaphale samā. Bṛhaspati quoted by Apararka, p. 740, cf. also Jāyāpatyorna vibhāgo vidyati paṇigrahanād hi sahatvam karmasu/ADS II.6.13-17.
  - 73. The Br. P. seems to refer to the stuti given in Satapatha Brāhmaņa V. 2.10 as referred to above.
  - 74. S. Radhakrishnan: Foreword to B.S. Upadhyāya's book cited above.
  - 75. 80.30.33. cf. also Sakhā ha Jāyā-AB. vii. 3-13 vide also Mbh. (Cr. ed.) Āranyakaparvan, III, 58, 27—Na ca Bhāryāşamam kimcidvidyate bhiajam matam, Auşadham sarvaduhkheşu satyametadbravimi te, and Raghuyamsa VIII. 67; Gṛhinī sacriḥ sakhāmithaḥ priyasişyā lalite kalāvidhau,

wife. A wife was necessary in order to fulfil the triple debts or three social obligations, viz., rširna, pitrrna and the devarna fulfilled by brahmacarya, progeny and sacrifices espectively, as stated in the Taittirīya Samhitā. The Br. P. again refers to the same śruti, viz. 'ardham jāyā' or 'ardho jāyā' and states that in all the works of men. a wife is a helpmate, and that a husband cannot attain success without her help. The work done by man single-handed brings just half the reward whereas that done with the wife brings complete merit and therefore it is a well-known śruti that a woman is half of the man. The

Again, the Br. P. states that a wife has different personalities in accordance with different situations. Thus she is mainly a patnī, as she holds the responsibility of the family. She is a bhāryā, as she gives birth. She is a jāyā, and on account of her qualities she is called kalatra. This reminds one of the popular verse which represents different aspects of a wife. The duty of a good housewife was to satisfy first her guests, children and after they finish their meals, she should take her meals (136.13). She

- 80.34,35, vide also Mbh. XII. 144.6 Na grham grhamityāhurgrhinī grhamucyate, grham tu grhinīrīnam kāntārādatiricyate.
- 77. Rnatrayopanodāya kriyatām dārasamgrahah, 99.5
- 78. Jāyamāno ha vai brāhmanastribhirmavā Jayate, brahmacaryena rsibhyo yajnena Devebhyah prajayā pitrbhya esa va anmo Yah putrī yajva brahmacārīvāsi, TS. 6.3-10.5; cf. SB, 1.7.2.11, AB. 33.
- 79. Pumsan sarveşu karyeşu bharyaiveha sahayini Svalpānāmapi karyanam na hi siddhistaya vinā ekena yatkṛtam karma tasmādarhaphalam bhavet Jāyayā tu krtam natha puşkalam puruso labhet tasmādetatsuvidvtamardho jaya iti śruteh 129.60-62 ardham according to the MS. 'ka'.
- Ādau tu patni bharaŋāttu bhāryā janestu jāyā svagunaih kalatram, (145.18)
- Kāryeşu mantrī karaneşu dāsī Bhojyeşu mātā sayaneşu Rambhā.
- 82. Brhaspati says that a wife should partake of food and condiments after her husband and elders have eaten. Brhaspati quoted in smrticandrikā, vyavahāramayūkha, p. 257, vide-for details regarding the duties of women, Kane P.V. op. cit., pp. 565 ff.

A wife is considered a source of her husband's happiness. She is the surest solace to the husband, however, trying his worries and miseries may be. She is the only friend who never forsakes him in adversity. The Br. P. relates an incident where the life of a husband is at stake and he is unable to decide as to whom to approach in those adverse circumstances. At last he decides to tell about all his difficulties to his wife and finally gains permanent happiness through her advice (a. 167).84

From infancy girls are taught man-worship and it constitutes their principal training. The ideal of Hindu womanhood is to live only to serve her husband. Ministering to the pleasures and desires of man is the only possible legitimate vocation of women and this goes so far as to make life without such employment a meaningless existence. The Br. P. records the same idea when it states that a husband was all-in-all for a wife. He is the god, the master, the best friend, the religious observer, the highest brahman, the heaven and the mokşa. If the husband was satisfied with, her, all the gods were satisfied, but if the husband is not satisfied, the wife is sure to perish. The husband is the most respected person for a wife among all her relatives. Even if her husband may be deformed or aged or infirm or offensive, she should manifest perfect obedience to him and that should be her sole rule of conduct in life. The Br. P. notes an

83. Sukhamūlā hi dārāḥ (228.25), vide also Padmapurāna, Uttarakhanda, 223.36-7.

Anukulyam hi dampatyostrivargodayahetave, Anukulam kalatram cettridivena hi kim tatah. Pratikulam kalatram cennarakena hi kim tatah, Grhasramah sukharthaya patnimulam hi tatsukham.

84. Kimakathyam priye mitre kulīnāyam ca yoşiti (165.25).

85. Oliver Cromwell Cox. op. cit., p. 47.

86. Tuste bhartari nārinām tuştah syūh sarvadevātāh, Viparyaye tu nārināmavasyam nāsamāpnuyāt. tvam devam tvam prabhurmahyam tvam suhrttvam parāyanam, tvam vratam tvam param brahmā svargo mokşastvameva ca. Br. P. 80.40.41

Cf. Na pitā nātmajo nātmā na mātā na sakhījanaḥ iha pretya ca nāriņām patireko gatiḥ sadā, mitam dadati hi Pitā mitam bhrātā mitam sutaḥ amitasya ca dātāram bhartāram kā na sevate. Ram II.27, 6,II.40.3.

instance where the husband instead of having a human form has the form of a serpent. In spite of this terrible calamity, the wife does not show the slightest tinge of averseness and accepts the serpent as her lord. She does not show any sign of pain but on the contrary she considers herself fortunate in being a serpent's wife and tells her husband that in all the circumstances, the husband is the only goal for a wife (a. III).87 The husband's advice should be the last word for the wife. Nothing more remains to be done after it. The Br. P. records an instance how Svāhā, the wife of Agni who was practising penance to get children ceased to do so as soon as her husband assured her of getting children and forbade her to practise austerities.'88 A wife should never hear bad words about her husband, even if the husband is of the worst type, he is the goal of wife. 80 Thus the husband had complete mastery over the wife. If the husband ignored his wife, her life was considered to be worthless.90

Some smrtikāras like Atri and Devala were so liberal as to say that women who had intercourse with one not of the same caste or who had conceived by such intercourse did not become outcastes, but only impure till delivery or next period when they became pure again and could be associated with; the child born of the adulterous connection being handed over to some one else for being brought up. The Taittirīya Brāhamaṇa states that

- 87. Mānusiņām manuşyo hi bhartā sāmānyato bhavet, kim punardevajātistu bhartā puņyena labhyate. III, 60 Patireva gatih strīnām sarvadaiva višesatah, III.69.
- Strīņāmabhīṣṭadam nānyadbhartṛvākyam vinā kvacit, (128.6)
- 89. Patyuh śrnvanti yā nindām tāsām pāpāvadhih kutah, yādrśastādṛso vā pi patih strinām parā gatih, 109.7 vide also—Upapannā hi dāresu prabhutā sarvatomukhi,
- Sākuntala V. 26. 90. Bhartari pratikūlānam yoşitām jīvanena kim, (145.13).
- 91. Asavarņaistu yo garbhah strīnām yonau nisīcyate, asuddhā sa bhavennārī yāvadgarbham na muñcati. vimukte tu tatah salye rajascāpi pradṛsyate, tadā sa sudhyate nārī vimalam kāñcanam yathā. Atri 195,196, also vide Devala 50-51.

the sacrificer's wife had to confess if she had a lover and even when she confessed she was allowed to co-operate with her husband in the sacrifice. 92 The Br. P. also provides an instance of the type. Soma was enamoured of Tara, the wife of Brhaspati and carried her away. Brhaspati and others fought with Soma but he did not give her back. At last Brahmā intervened and Brhaspati regained Tara but she was pregnant and when a son was born to her, Brhaspati got enraged and asked her as to who was the father of the child. At first through bashfulness she did not answer but later on when she was forced she told that Soma was the father of the child. Soma carried the child in his lap and named him Budha. Here it can be seen that even though Tārā was raped by Soma, Brhaspati received her back, and as said in the Taittiriya Brāhamaņa, she had to declare the name of her seducer and the child was not given to someone else for rearing as stated by Atri but it was given to the father himself. (a. 9)93

Pativratā: In the Mbh. and the Purāṇas, hyperbolical descriptions of the power of the pativratā occur frequently. The Br.P. also provides many instances of the devoted wives. There is an extreme case when merely on hearing about the death of a husband, the wife too gave up her life (138.16). Infidelity to husband was considered to be a great sin and it was believed that such women went to Akṣaya hell. It is further said that those wives who are pativratās know everything in the world and the world itself is supported by them. The contentment of husband and wife was much valued. The Br. P. states that when both husband and wife satisfy each

- Yajjāram santam na prabrūyātpriyam jñātim rundhyāt, asau me jāra iti nirdišet, Tai Br. I.6.5; vide also SB. II.5.2.20. Kāt. Śr. V.v. 6-10.
- 93. Elsewhere the Br.P. declares that the moon gets the spot on account of his sin of abducting Tārā and Tārā is reaccepted by Brhaspati after purifying her with the water of the river Gautamī (a. 152).
- 94. Kane P.V., op. cit., Vol. II. pp. 567 ff.
- Manasa pyanyapuruşam pāpisthāh kāmayanti yāh, akşayānyānti narakānstāsām sarve' pi purvajāh. 87.61
- Śrutamasti punaścedam striyo yaśca pativratāh, ta eva sarvam jānanti Dhṛtam tābhiścarācaram. 129.54.

other, there is an increment of dharma, artha and kāma.97 The other, there is the power to curse the wife who was disloyal to him. husband has the sage Gautama cursed Ahalya for sleeping with Indra though through no fault or desire of her own (a.87).

The Br. P. furnishes many instances of pativrata women. Thus it is said that Gauri, the wife of king Prasenjit was a great pativratā (7.91). Caitrarathī or Bindumatī, the daughter of Sasabindu, became the wife of king Māndhātā and was a great pativratā (7.94). Dhuminī, the wife of Ajamīdha, was also one. She practised severe penance for 10,000 years and obtained a son (13.103-105). Mālinī, the wife of king Śvetakarna, was very devoted to him. When Svetakarna went to a forest Mālinī followed him. On her way, she gave birth to a child but being devoted to her husband, she left the child where it was born and went after her husband (13.127-131). The Br. P. devotes a whole adhyāya to describe how the pativratā is cherished by her husband (a. 80)

Reference should be made to the discordant fact of co-wives in the married life of a woman. The Br. P. states that jealousy among the co-wives was very common. Diti was enraged when she saw that the progeny of her co-wife Aditi was flourishing while that of her own diminished day by day.98 Devayānī also is depicted as jealous of Sarmistha for the same reason (146.9). An instance may be added of how one of the wives of king Bahu had given poison to her co-wife Yadavi when she was pregnant and as a result Yādavī bore a child who was full of poison and eventually became well-known as Sagara (8.36-40).

## Woman as Mother

The mother transcended the position of the wife. The latter reached the climax of her power and importance when she became a mother. 'Matr devo bhava' [ treat your mother as a goddess] is the advice given to the young. The greatest disappointment in the life of a Hindu woman is not to be able to present her husband a son who would be a solace to him in this life and who would assist him through the valley of death.

<sup>97.</sup> Yātrānukūlyam dampatyostrivargastatra vardhate, 138.13.

<sup>98.</sup> Devapraveśo pi sukhāya nūnam svapne pyaveksya na sapatnalaksmīh (124.6), 32.25-28, CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Therefore, motherhood has been the cherished ideal of every Hindu woman. The Brahma Purāṇa states that the mother stands at the highest step among all the relatives. She is even greater than a teacher. Manu says that the ācārya exceeds by his greatness ten upadhyāyas, the father exceeds a hundred ācāryas, a mother exceeds a thousand fathers (II.145 = Vas. Dh. S. 13.48). It is said that one cannot achieve one's aim if it is against the wish of the mother. Thus the Angirasas practised severe penance but as they had not asked the permission of their mother, their penance did not become fruitful. 100

It is further stated that one may avert the consequences of all the curses, but a mother's curse can never be averted. The Br. P. cites the following instance of Yama and repeats it twice in support of its advocacy of this view. It happened that Yama, the son of Samjñā and Vivasvat, was so enraged by the discriminative treatment given to him by Chāyā, the substitute mother, that he raised his right leg to strike her in righteous indignation and Chāyā cursed that his leg would fall away because of this ignoble act of his. Yama pleaded with his father but his father said that the mother's words can never be falsified and the curse of the mother cannot be averted (VI.22-23), (32-66) (89.15,16), vide also Mat. P. (11.4 ff.)

Several implications may be drawn from this anecdote. First, that a child can never be permitted to misbehave to its mother; second, that a mother can never be struck; third that if a child misbehaved, a mother had the power to curse him; fourth, that even though the curse of the mother involved injustice, it cannot be averted; <sup>101</sup> fifth that even the father had not the power to undo the mother's action, sixth that a mother should always act

- 99. Sarvebhyo hyadhikā mātā gurubhyo gauraveņa hi,(158.5); Vide also 'guruņām caiva sarveşām mātā paramako guruḥ', Mbh. I.211.16; and, Nāsti vedātparam šāstram nāsti mātuḥ paro guruḥ, nasti dānātparam mitramiha loke paratra ca. Atri 151.
- Mamanādrtya ye putrāh pravrttaścaritum tapah, sarvairapi prakāraistānna tesām siddhimesyati. 158.7.
- 101. Sarveşāmeva śapānām pratighāto hi vidyate, na tu matrabhisaptānam kvacitšāpannivartanam. 32.70 cf. for almost the same words Mbh. (Cr. ed.) I.33.4 also Br. P. 'Na śakyametanmithya tu kartum

matryacastava\* (6.30) CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA impartially towards all the children; seventh, that even in those days the cruelties of a step-mother were well-known; and eighth, that even if the child committed a mistake the mother was so generous that she would never have an evil desire for the child if she were a real mother. 103

From this, it could also be seen that a mother always showed kindness towards the children. Elsewhere it is stated that on account of the anger of mothers, the children of king Bharata perished (13.58).

A mother cannot show unworthy feelings toward a son. The Br. P. states that when Māyāvatī, the wife of Sambarāsura, tried to love Pradyumna(whom she had reared like her own child) as her lover, Pradyumna was much confused and was unable to understand how Māyāvatī whom he always considered to be his mother could show such improper feelings for him (200.2-14).

Mothers were never more unhappy than when away from their children. The Br. P. depicts how Rukmini craves for her lost child Pradyumna (200.21,22). Sometimes the love of the mother for the child attained to such an intensity that the mother was unable to live without the child. The Br. P. notes an extreme case when a mother immolates herself after the death of her son (228.52). 105

102. Mātrā snehena sarveşu vartitavyam suteşu vai, 6.25), and 'kimartham tanayesu vai tulyesvabhyadikah sneha ekasminkriyate tvayā, (6.3).

103. Šapto'ham tāta kopena jananyā tanayo matah, tato manye na jananīmimām vai tapatām vara. (32.67).

and 'nirguneśvapyapatyeşu mātā śāpam na dāsyati, (33.74) and 'apatyeşu viruddheşu jananī naiva kupyate. yadbālyādabravam kimcidathavā duşkṛtam kṛtam, naiva kupyati sā mātā tāsmānneyam mamāmbikā. yadapatyakṛtam kimcit sādhvasādhu yathā tathā, matyasyām śarvamapyetattasmānmāteti gīyate. pradhyaksyantivā mām tāta nityam paśyati cakṣuṣā, vaktyagnikālasadrśā vācā neyam madambikā, (89.18-21). cf. for a similar sentiment, kuputro jāyeta kvacidapi kumātā na bhavati—Devyaparādhakṣamāpanastotra, 2, 3, 4.

104. Altekar A.S., op. cit., p. 119.

105. Vide also 'Na mām madhava vaidhavyam nārthanāśo na vairitā, tathā śokāyā bhavati yathā rutrairvinā bhavah. Mbh. v. 90.69.

In order to get a son, a woman practised severe penance, observed regularity in meals and slept on a kuśa bed (13.103) The Br. P. deals at length with the rules that a pregnant woman should observe during her crucial period. The Br. P. states that a pregnant woman should not do any low type of work on both the sandhyās. During this period she should neither sleep nor go outside nor keep her hair loose. She should eat only good things, remain cheerful and should not yawn and at the time of twilight, she should not stay in the inner apartment of the house. She should not carry any heavy thing like pestle, mortar etc., and should not sleep with a raised head. She should neither speak lie nor should she go to anyone's house. She should not see any man other than her husband (124.20-26). There were special sūtikāgṛhas—maternity homes—for the delivery of the child (200.2); and nurses were kept to rear the child (8.70,111.57).

# Position of a daughter-in-law

The position of the daughter-in-law seems to have been quite good and as happens in some families even in these days she did not have to suppress herself. The Br. P. shows such a lenient attitude that if a daughter-in-law had any trouble with her husband, she could approach her father-in-law and solve her difficulty (144.8). Again, the father-in-law who desired his daughter-in-law, was considered a great sinner (214.127).

## Position of a widow

The treatment which a widow receives is often an index to the attitude of society towards women as a class. From the Br. P. it can be said that the position of widow was truly miserable. The Br. P. notes that Mahī, the wife of a brāhmaņa Sanājjāta became a widow in her childhood and since there was no one to protect her, she went to the hermitage of the sage Gālava and kept her son there and she became a prostitute (92.5).

106. Altekar A.S., op. cit., p. 135.

Aparārka quotes Brahma Purāņa and states that the remarriage of widows is forbidden in the Kali age. 107 But Aparārka quotes a passage which itself speaks of a fresh saṃskāra of marriage for a child widow or for one who was forcibly abandoned or carried away by somebody. 108 These passages are not found in the present Br. P.

## The Custom of Satī

The ancient Vedic literature and the Grhyasūtras do not show any sign of this custom, therefore, it seems to have arisen in brāhmanical India a few centuries before Christ. 109

The Br. P. strongly recommends the practice of satī. It states that it is the highest duty of the woman to immolate herself after her husband and that this path is enjoined by the Vedas and is greatly reputed in all the worlds. Angiras also argued that the only course which religion has prescribed for a widow is that of satī. The Br. P. maintains that the wife can purify her husband from the deadliest of sins, if she burns herself after her husband. She lives with her husband in heaven for as many years as there are pores in the human body, i.e. for three and a half crores of years. 112

The earliest historical instance of satī is that of the wife of the Hindu general Keteus, who died in 316 B.C. while fighting against Antigonos. Both the wives of the general were anxious to

- 107. Strīņām punarvivāhastu devarātputrasantatih, svātantryam ca Kaliyuge kartavyam na kadācana. Br. P. quoted by Aparārka, p. 97, Kane P.V., op. cit., p. 606.
- 108. Yadi sa bālavidhavā balāttyaktāthavā kvacit, tata bhūyastu śamskārya grhitsā yena kenacit. Br. P. quoted by Aparārka, p. 97, Kane P.V., op. cit., p. 612.
- 109. Kane P.V., op. cit., p. 625.
- Strināmīyam paro dharmo yadbharturanuvesanam,
   Vede ca vihito mārgah sarvalokeşu pūjitah. (80.75).
- 111. Sādhvīnāmīha nāriņāmagniprapatanādṛte, nānyo dharmośti vijñeyo mṛte bhartari kutrachit " quoted by Aparārka in Yaj. I.87
- 112. Vyālagrāhī yathā vyālam bilāduddharate balāt, evam tvanugatā nārī saha bhartrādivam vrajet. Tisrah kotyordhakoţi ca yani romāni mānuşe, tāvatkālam vasetsvarge bhartāram yā'nugacchati. 80.76, 77.

accompany their husband on the funeral pyre, but as the elder one was with child, the younger one alone was allowed to carry out her wish. 113 The Br. P. also states that a pregnant woman was requested not to become a satī. Thus Yādavī, the wife of king Bāhu, was pregnant when king Bāhu died. In spite of her critical condition, she determined to follow her husband but the sage Aurva requested her not to become a satī and afterwards she gave birth to a child who was known as Sagara (8.39,40).

Aparārka quotes Brahma-Purāņa stating that anumuraņa occurs when, after her husband is cremated elsewhere and she learns of his death, the widow resolves upon death and is burnt with the husband's ashes or his pādukas. 114

### Prostitution

From very early times prostitution has existed in all the The Rv. refers to women who were common to many countries. 115 men (I.167.9) and in the Mbh., it is an established institution. 116 The Br. P. also makes stray references to prostitutes.

It seems that the occupation of prostitution was looked down upon as is seen from the case of Mahī, the wife of the brāhmaņa Dhrtavata, who became a prostitute after her husband's death and was much condemned for it (92.8). The persons who wanted to sleep with prostitutes gave money to them (92.9).

That the society was not harsh to them and showed tolerance can be seen from the treatment given to them. They lived happily and were specially employed to bring about definite purpose. Thus Indra when sending Menakā to disturb the penance of Yama addressed her as ganikā (86.34). They are referred to as witnessing the public sports (193.22-24). The prostitutes waved fans round the idols of lord Kṛṣṇā and Balarāma. They are described as

113. Altekar A.S., op. cit. p. 142.

114. Deśāntaramṛte tasminsādhvī tatpādukādvayam, Nidhāyorasi sams uddha pravišejjātavedasam. Rgvedavādātsādhvī strī na bhavedātmaghātinī, tryāhacchauce tu mirvrttee śrāddham prāpņotiśaśvatam. Br. P. quoted by Aparārka, p. 111.

115. Shatwell Arthur "Prostitution" Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 18, 598 ff. 116. Kane P.V. op. cit., Vol. II, p. 637; vide also Jagdish Chandra Jain: Life in ancient India as depicted in Jain canons.

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wearing yellow clothes, wearing garlands, divine earrings and golden flowers (65.18).

## Women and Higher Studies

Vedic literature states that women too were entitled to Vedic studies and down to the beginning of the Christian era, the upanayana, with which began the Vedic studies, was common for both boys and girls. 117 Lopāmudrā. Viśvavarā, Sikatā, Nivāvarī and Ghoṣhā are the renowned poetesses who composed various Vedic

hymns.118

There were two types of women students: (i) brahmavādinīs who were life-long students of theology and philosophy, and (ii) sadyovāhās who pursued their studies only till marriage. The Br. P. refers to Ilā, king Matināra's daughter, who is called a brahmavādinī but is married afterwards to king Taṃsu (13.53). Thus here the meaning of the term 'brahmavādinī' seems to differ from that of the general classification referred to above. Bṛhaspati's sister and Prabhāsa's wife was a brahmavādinī and yogasiddhā (3.42.43). Women are referred to as knowing the art of dancing and singing (41.33), (108.53) as playing various instruments like the vīṇā, dundubhi, veṇu, mṛdaṅga, paṇava, gomukha and śankha (46.21-22).

Some women in the Br. P., are seen practising penance to get a husband or a son of their own choice. Satarūpā practised severe penance for 10,000 years and obtained Svāyambhuva Manu as her husband (2.3-4). Svāhā, Agni's wife, practised severe penance in order to get children (128.3). Ekaparņā, Aparņā and Ekapāṭalā were called brahmacāriņīs (34.88, 89). Ekaparņā practised penance eating only one leaf (34.82), Ekapāṭalā practised penance eating only one paṭala for 10,000 years and Aparņā practised penance without eating anything (34.82, 85). When the daityas

<sup>117.</sup> Altekar, op. cit., p. 11.

<sup>118.</sup> ibid., p. 12.

<sup>119.</sup> ibid., p. 13, 17-Dvividhah striyo brahmavādinyah sadyodvāhāśca, tatra brahmavādinināmagnīndhanam vedādhy ayanam svagrhe ca bhaikśacaryeti.

and the danavas destroyed the gods, Aditi observed strict regulations with a concentrated mind without eating anything (32.11). Dhūminī, king Ajamīḍha's wife, practised severe penance for 10,000 years to get a son (Br. P. 103, 104—missing in ms. 'kha').

## Women and Religion

How far a religion stands for justice and fairplay and how far it has succeeded in exploding prejudices and shibboleths of a primitive age can be seen from the position it assigns to women in its ritual and theology. 120

Women are excluded from religious service almost everywhere because they were regarded as unclean, mainly on account of their periodical menstruation. During menstruation and the period of confinement, they were regarded as extremely impure and temporarily untouchable. The Br. P. states that to see a woman in her monthly period and during the period of confinement is extremely unholy (221.141-142).

In the Brahma Purāna, there is ample evidence to show that though women were not granted equal religious status they were encouraged to follow certain special religious practices. The ekoddista śrāddha is prescribed for women (220.74-76). They too are promised the highest positions as rewards for performing religious observances. Women get the highest siddhi by devoting themselves to Lord Nārāyaṇa (178.185, 186); (226.14). The women who control their senses, worship the Sun with pure faith and devotion get the desired things and the highest status (28.39). The women observed the vratas like Kṛcchra-Cāndrāyaṇa during the period of pregnancy (32.33).

### Woman and Sūdras

The discontinuance of upayanaya and its equation with the marriage ritual had the most disastrous consequences upon the social and family status of women and their status was automatically reduced to that of the śūdras. At about 300 B.C., it began

120. Altekar A.S., op. cit., p. 2. 121. *ibid.*, p. 231.

to be argued that women were ineligible for Vedic studies like \$\frac{5}{u}\text{dras}.\$\frac{122}{122}\$ Viṣṇu states that the dvijātis were to take their bath to the accompaniment of Vedic mantras, while women and \$\frac{5}{u}\text{dras}\$ were to bathe silently.\$\frac{123}{123}\$ The Br. P.\$\frac{124}{124}\$ also states that the first three varṇas should take a bath and do the japa as stated in the Vedas whereas the snāna and japa to be performed by the women and \$\frac{5}{u}\text{dras}\$ should be devoid of Vedic rites (67.19). Again it is stated that the first three varṇas should perform the \$\frac{5}{u}\text{ddha}\$ with the recitation of the mantras whereas the women and \$\frac{5}{u}\text{dras}\$ should perform the \$\frac{5}{u}\text{ddha}\$ without the recitation of mantras and they should follow the instruction of Brāhmaṇas (220.3, 4). In one place the women are grouped with the vaisyas and \$\frac{5}{u}\text{dras}\$ and it is stated that by reciting the \$\frac{5}{u}\text{vastuti}\$ composed by Dakṣa, the women, vaisyas and \$\frac{5}{u}\text{dras}\$ attain the Rudraloka (40.136), (vide \$Gita\$ 9.32-3).

### Women not to be killed

Since the very early times, the killing of a woman was regarded as a very disgraceful offence. The Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa points out that a woman ought not to be killed. The Mbh. states that those who know dharma declare that women are not to be killed, and that one should not direct one's weapons against women, cows, brāhmaṇas and against one who gave livelihood or shelter. It is interesting to note that even in spite of the universally accepted divinity of Rāma, critics like Bhavabhūti have ventured to fearlessly censure his conduct in killing Tāṭakā. 128

- 122. Altekar A.S., Great Women of India, p. 34.
- 123. Brahmakşatraviśām caiva manıravatsnānamīşyate, tūşņimeva hi śūdrasya striņām ca kurunandana. Vişņu quoted in Smrticandrikā: I. P. 181.
- 124. Vedoktam trisu varneşu snānam Jāpyamudārutam, strisūdrayoh snānajapyam vedoktavidhivārjitam. 67.19.
- 125. Stri vaişā yatścrīrna vai strīyam ghnar tyuta tvasyā jīvantyā evādadata iti, Sat. Br. XI. 4.3.2.
- 126. Avadhyā striyā ityāhurdharmajña dharmaniścaye—Ādiparva 158-31.
- 127. Strişu Goşu na śastrāņi pātayet brāhmaņeşu ca yasya cānnāni bhuñjita yatra ca syātpratiśrayah.
- 128. Uttararāmacarita, Act V. 34; Vide for details, Altekar A.S., The Position of Women in Hindu Civilisation, p. 380.

The Br. P. also states that it is a general rule that women, though born in the lowest category should not be killed and if anyone tried to kill a woman, it was considered to be in opposition to righteousness. 129 But at the same time, the Br. P. modifies this rule and states that if many persons are benefited by killing one inauspicious woman, then there is no sin in killing her. 130 Not only killing a woman in such conditions was desirable but such act entailed the merit of performance of hundred Asvamedhas. 131 The Ramayana also notes a similar sentiment when Rāma was called upon to kill Tātakā. 132

# Seclusion of Women

There is no reference in the Vedic literature regarding the seclusion of women, and the purdah was quite unknown down to about the beginning of the Christian era. It seems that after this period a greater seclusion of women was advocated. 133 Though the Br. P. does not refer to the purdāh system as such and allows freedom to movement to women as referred to above, still the Br. P. states that women should always try to proetct themselves in the harem. Men were unable to control themselves when they saw women in a lonely place, therefore, women were advised not to see the face of a man other than their husband (152.5-9). That the bodyguards were kept outside the harem to protect women can be seen from the case of Usa, Banasura's daughter, whose private dalliances with Aniruddha, Pradyumna's son, were conveyed by the bodyguards of the harem to Bāṇāsura (206.5, 6).

129. Avadhyām ca strīyam prāhustiryagyonigatesvapi, yadyevam prthivīpāla na dharmam tyaktumarhasi. 4.80.

130. Ekasyante tu yo hanyadatmano va parasya va, Bahūnvā prāņino, nantam bhavettasyeha patakam. Sukhamedhanti bahavo yasminstu nihate subhe, tasminhate nāsti bhadre pātakam copapatakam. (482, 83)

131. Yatropkāro'nekānāmekanāśe bhavişyati, na doşastatra prthivi tapasā dhāryeprajāh. na dosamatra pasyāmi nāckase narthakam vacah, yasminnipatite saukhyam bahunāmupajāyate, munayastadvadham prāhurasvamedhasatādhikam. (141.21. 22)

132. Rāmāyaņa (Cr. ed.) Bālakānda I. 24.15.

133. Kane, op. cit., pp. 596-598, Altekar, op. cit., p. 200.

Rukmiņī and Māyāvatī are also said to reside in the antahpura (200.20, 23).

### Views about Women's Nature

The women are said to be very jealous by nature. 134 The Br. P. furnishes many instances to evidence the jealous nature of women. Thus Pārvatī, Lord Siva's wife, planned a conspiracy with Ganesa to separate the river Ganga from Lord Siva, on seeing the increasing attachment of Lord Siva for Gangā (a.74). Devayānī, Yayāti's wife, also felt very jealous when she saw that her cowife Sarmisthā had three sons whereas she herself had only two sons (146.9). Diti, the sage Kasyapa's wife, also felt jealousy when her own children perished whereas those of Aditi, her co-wife prospered (124.4). Kaikeyī, Daśaratha's wife, directed Rāma, her co-wife Kausalya's son, to go to a forest-exile when she saw that he was getting the throne and by doing so she secured the throne for her own son Bharata (123.107, 108). The example of one of the queens of king Sagara who gave poison to her co-wife is already referred to. King Jyāmagha was so afraid of his wife Saibyā that even though she did not give him any child, he did not marry again. This may be the result of Saibyā's fear that she would loose her control over her husband in case her cowife won the love of her husband by presenting him with a child (15.13-20).

A Regredic passage shows that women are very fickle by nature. The Mbh. at one place states that sexual enjoyment is the sole aim of woman's existence. The Rāmāyaṇa states that women combine the fickleness of the lightning, the sharpness of the weapon and the swiftness of the eagle (II. 13.6-7). The Br. P. also states that no one is able to stop a woman when she takes a wrong path (100.12) and that women are fickle by nature and it is in their nature to desire men. The Br. P.

<sup>134.</sup> Cf. 'na hi nāryo vinerşyaya'.

<sup>135.</sup> Na Vai straiņāni Sakhyāni santi śālavṛkāṇām hṛdayānyetā, X. 95.15.

<sup>136.</sup> Asambhogo jarā strīnām, Mbh. IV. 39.78 (B).

<sup>137.</sup> Strīņāmeşa svabhāvo vai pumskāmā yoşito yatah, svabhāvascapalā brahmaņyoşitah sakalā api. 101.14, 15.

also states in similar words the idea expressed in the Rgvedic passage cited above. Again, the Br. P. mentions that the quarrels of women are so intricate that they can be known by women alone. It is also stated that the nature of women is so complex that it could be thoroughly known by women alone. Moreover, it is a general characteristic of the nature of women that their sexual affairs be done in privacy. At one place, the Br. P. decries the women to a great extent and says that they cheat and infatuate others and are illusory like the dreams. They never give happiness. It is interesting to note that this passage and the one quoted above refer to Purūravā-Urvašī episode, the idea being the same as the Rgvedic one.

The deterioration of their position and the blackening of their character and nature were the outcome of the rise of the renunciation school whose end in view was to dissuade men from marriage and family life. Varāhamihira boldly tried to attack this tendency.<sup>143</sup>

## Woman's share in Patrimony

Āpastamba, Manu and Nārada do not allow the widow of a sonless male to succeed as heir, while Gautama (28.14) appears to say that she is an heir along with sapindas or sagotras. The Sākuntala (act VI) also contemplates the same view. Yājñavalkya

- 138. Na vai straiņāni jānīşe hṛdayāni mahāmate, Sālavṛkāņām yadṛmṣī tasmāttvam bhūpa mā śucah (151.12).
- 139. Strīņām vivādam ta eva strīyo jānanti netare, (137.26).
- 140. Strīņām svābhāvam jānanti striyā eva surādhipa, (129.51).
- 141. Strīņāmeşa svabhāvośti ratam gopāyitam bhavet, (108.27).
- 142. Vidyuccañcalacittānām kva sthairyam nanu yoşitām, ko nama loke Rājendra Kāminībhirna vañcitah. vañcakatvam Nṛśamsatvam cañcalatvam kuśīlatā, iti svābhāvikam yāsām tāḥ kathām sukhahetavah. kālena kona nihatah ko'rthi gauravamāgatah, striyā na bhrāmītah ko vā yoşidbhih ko na khanditah. svapnamāy opamā rājanmadaviplutacetasah, sukhāya yoşitah kasya jāatvaitadvijvaro bhava. (151.6, 13-16).
- Altekar A.S. op. cit., pp. 386 ff.; Kane P.V., op. cit., p. 579, Brhatsamhita,
   Ch. 74,

(II. 135) mentions the widow as the first heir of a sonless man. Viṣṇu, Kātyāyana and others say the same. It appears that in medieval times the rights of widows to property were better recognised than in the times of the early sūtra writers. In this respect, the position of women improved in medieval times, though in the religious and other spheres their position became worse, as they were equated with sūdras. The Br. P. mentions an instance from which an idea can be gathered regarding its views on woman's share in paternal property. Thus it is said that when vaivasvat Manu decided to divide his kingdom, he distributed it amongst his nine sons and sudyumna did not get any share as he was formerly in the form of a girl and was known as Ilā. But his share was given to his son Pururavās (7-20,21). Thus it can be seen that the girls had no share in patrimony but their share was transferred to their sons.

# ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL LIFE

In this chapter when describing various aspects of economic and cultural life as depicted in the Br. P. we shall include food and drinks, dress and ornaments, music and dance, pastime and festivals, art and architecture, use of various metals etc.

#### Food

The Br.P. mentions a rich variety of food and drinks. Food is not considered merely as an eatable, but as a substance which influences the physiology, the psychology, and the culture of the people.<sup>1</sup>

In the Cākuṣaṣa manvantara, and in the manvantaras preceding it, there were no food-grains, no cattle-breeding etc. But by the time of Vainya onwards, in the Vaivasvata manvantara, all these had come into existence. It is said that the king Pṛthu milked the earth in the form of a cow which yielded milk in the form of food-grains (4.94-98). Annadāna is considered to be the best among all the dānas, and the Br. P. devotes a whole adhyāya to eulogizing annadāṇa (a.218). The Br. P. states that one should not use things that are very sour, salty, bitter or pungent, as these make up the food of the asuras.<sup>2</sup> But the things which are clean (mṛṣṭa) and oily (snigdha), which are slightly pungent and sour, should be

Majumdar Girija Prasanna: Food, Indian Culture, Vol, I., 1934-35, pp. 407-408; vide Sharma Om Prakash, Food and Drinks in Ancient India, Delhi.

<sup>2. (220.183)—,</sup> the reading of the MS 'kha' viz 'atitikta' seems to be better. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Dehr. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

offered as they make a fitting meal for gods (221.183-186). The food that is long stale or that is not fresh must be avoided, because of the change that occurs in it. Things that are visibly salty should also be avoided (221.28,56). The Br.P. states that things which are prohibited should not be used and that it is better to eat one's own flesh than to use prohibited things. One who has eaten prohibited things unknowingly should expiate with fruits, herbs, curds, milk, takra (butter-milk mixed with a third part of water), urine of cow, and barley-food (yāvaka), once a week (220.199-203). The ugrānna, i.e., the pungent food or the food from an ūgra, the food obtained from a troop (gaṇānna), the food given away by proclamation (ghuṣṭānna) and the food of a sūdra should never be taken (223.23).

Further, it is said that one who does not give food to the brāhmaṇa who has come to him and instead feeds another brāhmaṇa is destroyed (220.138). Those who in spite of having food do not give it to the poor, the blind, the bhikṣuka, and guests

and ignore those who ask for it go to a hell (225.10-13).

Regulations were to be observed regarding the time of taking the food. A grhastha is advised to eat after worshipping the ancestors, gods, men and others (221.26-28). And a man should always eat his food, facing the east or the north, with his mouth well-rinsed out, restraining his speech, staying pure, with his mind intent on his food and with his face between his knees (221.27). A man should not eat while he is clad in a single garment (221.33). The 'ucchista' food should be avoided (221.28). One should not eat anything while rinsing out his mouth and he should not carry on any conversation while he has remains of food in his mouth (221.29,30). After saluting his guests, he should take his food morning and evening (221.48). One should not eat when one has not taken a bath, when one is reposing, nor while thinking of other things, nor when sitting on one's bed or on the earth, nor when making a sound, nor without sharing with the spectators—but a man should eat every morning and evening according to rule, i.e., after taking a bath (221.58-60). The annotsargas, dadhikulyas, payasahrdas, are referred to (47.61). While describing the sacrifice of Daksa, it is said that there were mountain-sized heaps of divine food and drinks, rivers of milk, trees of ghee and pāyasa, divine madhumaņdodakas and khandasarkarayālukas, and rivers of jaggery flowing CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastif Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

with the six rasas and various food preparations, food to be licked (lehya), and food which can be sucked or which is dried up by internal inflammation (coşya) (39.62-64). As regards the oily substances, ghee (sarpişa and ghṛta) and oil of the sesamum seed are mostly referred to (67.27), (29.35). Sesamum-oil is considered to be holy. The oily vessels are said to be cleansed with hot water, and the āvika cloth and hair are cleansed with white mustard (sid-dhārtha) and sesame (tilakalka) (221.117,118).

### Dishes

Although the Br. P. does not give details about either the preparation, shape, colour or taste of various dishes, still the names of preparations are noteworthy, because they make a long list of the useful and varied purposes they serve. The Br. P. states that one who offers an oblation of kālaśāka (the potheriocimum sanctum). tilājva and kṛsara (a dish of rice and pulse) in Gayā and offers a śrāddha on the thirteenth day of the maghā-naksatra consisting of payasa i.e. kheer gets the desired things. In śrāddha, one should offer jaggery, sugar, matsyandi (inspissated juice of the sugar-cane). phānita (the inspissated juice of sugar-cane and other plants), ūrmura (?), gavya (cow-milk), pāyasa, curds, ghṛta (ghee), Taila (sesamum-oil), the things obtained from tila (sesamum-seed), saindhava (a kind of rock-salt, things obtained from the ocean, lavaņa, things obtained from a pond (sārasa), kālaśāka, tandulīya, vāstuka (a kind of vegetable or chenopodium album), mūlaka (a kind of root), phala (fruits) and aranyaśāka (220.159-161). Again one who offers the pāyasa consisting of honey to the ancestors in rainy seasons, goes to heaven (220.32,33). One who always eats sweets (mistanna) suffers in the krmipūya hell (22.18). In the Nṛsiṃha-worship, a devotee should eat śāka, yāvaka (barleygruel), mūla (roots), phala (fruits), piņyāka (Oil-cake), saktuka (it is a coarsely ground meal especially of barley) and payas (58.19). Madhuparka (a mixture of milk, honey and ghee) was offered to gods and a special madhuparkamantra was recited at the time of offering it (61.28). One should offer the naivedya consisting of pāyasa, pūpa (cake, Gujarati-mālapudo), śaskulī, vaṭaka payasa, payadum, modaka (sweetmeat, Gujarati—lāḍu), phānita and fruits to Lord Nṛṣiṃha (67.27). One should feed the brāhmaṇas with pakvānna (cooked food) consisting of jaggery and ghee (sarpis) and should give to the brahmanas twelve water pots with modakas (67.43,44). In the Govardhanagiriyajña, the villagers offered an oblation consisting of curds, payas and meat (187.57). In hell sinners crave for the śalyodana (boiled rice) mixed with curds, ghee and milk (215.31). One offers the odana (grain mashed and cooked with milk, porridge, boiled rice, any pap or pulpy substance) mixed with gudapānaka (a sweet drink) goes to the Yamaloka in golden aeroplanes. One who gives in dana milk, ghee, curds, honey, and jaggery goes there in cakravaka-yoked aeroplanes. One who offers fruits goes there in the Swan-yoked aeroplanes, and who gives sesamum, ghṛtadhenu and tiladhenu goes there in very neat aeroplanes (216.16-20). The pitrs are satisfied by the havisyanna (food fit to be eaten during certain festival days, any particularly sacred food) for one month (220.23). One who steals curds is reborn a baka, the stealer of raw meat. a playa, that of fruits, mulaka and pupa (Gujarati-malapudo), becomes an ant, that of nispava (finest pulse) becomes a rat (phalamūşaka), that of pāyasa. becomes a tittiri, that of a sweet cake (piştamaya pūpa) becomes kumbholūka (217.87-89). One who offers the oblation of kṛṣara, pāyaṣa, pūpa, fruits, herbs, ghee and odana gets success, the oblation of kṣīra relieves one of mental pain, and that of curds also brings success (29-54-56). One should bathe Lord Purusottama with ghee, milk and fragrant water of holy places mixed with candana (67.20-27). It is stated that one should not prepare samyāva (Gujarati-śiro, a sort of cake of wheaten flour fried with ghee and milk and made up into an oblong form with sugar and spices), kṛṣara and māmṣa (meat) for oneself (221.47). One should not use preparations of pişţaśāka, sugarcane,

4. Macdonell (A Practical Sanskrit Dictionary notes the word vatika meaning a kind of perforated rice cake, whereas a vadum is a preparation of beanflour), CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

<sup>3.</sup> This may be identified with jalebī in Gujarati. The word karna-saşkulī is translated by 'karna-jalebi'. Gode P.K., some notes on the History of Indian Dietectics' with special reference to the history of jalebi, New Indian Antiquary, Vol. VI, p. 172, fn. 10.

pāyas and meat prepared a long time ago (221.57, 58). The food prescribed for a yogin consists of saktu (Gujarati—sāthavo, coarsely ground meal especially of barley), yavāgū (rice-gruel), takra (butter-milk mixed with an equal amount of water, Marathi—tāk, Gujarati chāsa), mūla, phala, pāyasa, yāvaka (barley-gruel) and kaṇa (grains) and piṇyāka (oil-cakes), (234.6). A yogin should avoid oily things. A yogin who eats dry yāvaka for a long time and observes regularity in meals becomes strong. By drinking milk mixed with water a yogin becomes strong (248.43, 49). Again the food consisting of piṇyāka, curds and things obtained from the cow, is referred to (241.17). The Khaṇḍaśarkaravālukā, madhumaṇḍodaka and guḍakūlyas are also referred to (39.62-64).

## Fruits and Vegetables

Fruits and vegetables constituted one of the important items of food. There are numerous references to fruits and vegetables in the Br. P. Thus it states that one should not offer the fruits of tāla (the palm tree), varuņa (the tree crataeva Roxburghii), kākola (the plant kākolī, perhaps the cocculus Indicus), bahupatra arjuna, jambīra, raktabilva, and śāla. One should also avoid kāleyaka, ugragandha, turuşka, pālanka, kumāri, kirāta, piņdamūlaka, Grnjana, cukrikā, cukra, varuma, caņapatrikā, jīva, śatapuṣpa, lasuna, nālikā, gandhasūkara, kālabhṛtya, sarṣapa, palāṇḍu, mānakanda, visakanda, vajrakanda, gadāsthika, puruṣālva, sapiņdālu, the three bitter trees, viz., alāvu, tiktaparņa and kūşmāņda, vārtāka, šivajātu, lomaša, vaṭa,, kālīya, raktavāṇa, balākā, lakuca, vibhītaka, kovidāra and kasigruka. One should also not use āranāla, which is dry and stale for long. One should not offer things which are very sour, slimy, spoiled or half-ripe (yātayāma), things which have lost their taste, which smell of wine, and which have strong smell of asafoetedia. Further one should not use phanisa, bhunimba and nimbarājika, kustumburu, kalingottha and amlavetasa (220.168-179). It is said that one who offers the fruits of tala goes to hell (220,197).

The prakīrņa fruits are also referred to as an item of food (241.19). One should give āmra, āmrātaka, bilva, bījapūraka (these items missing in the MSS 'ka' and 'kha'), prācīnāmalaka, cksīra of shārikela hastparusaka, Newnārangajtized khārjūra jation drāk sānīla,

kapitthaka, patola, priyāla, karkandhū, badara, vikankata, vatsaka, kastvāru, and varāka in śrāddha (220.156-158). The fruits are stated to be used in the Purusottama-worship (29.16, 54), (67.27). Again it is said that one should offer kālaśāka, tandula, vāstuka, mūlaka, and aranyaśāka (220.161). Though in the references given above, the use of the tāla fruits is condemned, it is also stated that the tāla fruits are very juicy and fragrant (186.5).

#### Corn

From the description of corns used for edible purposes, it can be seen what a great variety of corn was used during the period of the Br. P. Thus it is stated that yava (barley), godhūma (wheat), caņaka (chickpeas) māṣa (a kind of bean), mudga (green gram), tila (sesame), ikşu (sugarcane), cīnaka (?) were prepared for the sacrifice to be conducted in the Naimiṣāraṇya (47.25-27). King Indradyumna offered to the kings who had come to witness his sacrifice various types of food made up from the śāli (rice), sugarcane, barley and gorasa (47.45). It is stated that one who steals yava, tila, māṣa, kulittha (a kind of bean), sarṣapa (mustard seed, Gujarati-sarasava), cana, kalāya (bean), mudga, godhūma, atasī and other corn becomes a rat (217.62, 63). In the sacrifice of king Indradyumna, the śāli, vrīhi (rice), yava, māsa, mudga, tila, siddhārtha (white mustard), caṇaka, godhūma, masura (a sort of lentil or pulse), syāmāka (rice), madhūka (a kind of tree), nīvāra (wild rice), kulatthaka, various other types of gramya and aranya corns and tandulas (grains after threshing and winnowing, especially rice), were prepared (47.25-27). It is said that a śrāddha should be performed with yava, vrīhi, tila, māṣa, godhūma, caṇaka, mudga, syāmāka, sarşapadrava, nīvāra, hastisyāmāka (a kind of millet), priyangu (Italian millet or mustard seed), prasātikā (a kind of rice with small grains) (220.154, 155), and one should not use rājamaşa (a kind of bean), caņaka, masūra, koradūşaka (kodrava), vipruşa (?), markata (?) and kodrava (Gujarati-kodrā); (220.168-169). A yogin is advised to eat kana (grains) (234.6). Preparation of godhuma, yava and gorasa might be taken even though prepared without oil (221.110).

Non-Vegetarian Diet

Meat-eating was prevalent in Vedic times and the Indus-valley people also used animal food, but it was discouraged by the time of Purānas. The Br. P. often refers to meat-eating. The Br. P. furnishes an interesting anecdote regarding meat-eating. Once when the sage Viśvāmitra saw that his family and pupils were oppressed by hunger at the time of famine, he asked his pupils to bring anything that was available to satisfy their hunger. The pupils brought a dog and Viśvāmitra ordered it to be cooked after first cleaning it with water and reciting the mantras, and further suggested that it should first be offered to the gods, sages, pitrs, guests and èlders and the remnants should be eaten by them. When the dish was prepared, Agni, the messenger of the gods, related the whole matter to the gods and Indra taking the form of a hawk carried away the dish. On learning of it Viśvāmitra got very angry. Indra filled it with nectar and returned the dish, but Viśvāmitra insisted on having the meat back. When Indra said that it was better to drink nectar than to eat the meat of the dog which was amedhya, i.e. not fit for the sacrificial purposes. Visvamitra retorted by asking him to shower water on the whole world. Indra consented and the agony of famine was removed (a.93). The Br. P. furnishes another instance also regarding meateating in connection with Viśvāmitra. Satyavrata, king Trayyāruna's son, was maintaining the family of king Viśvāmitra at the time of famine. Once when he did not get anything, he killed the cow of the sage Vasistha and satisfied his hunger. He was cursed to be Triśanku by the sage Vasistha. The reasons given for the curse here are 'violation of the father's wishes,' 'the murder of the cow of the guru' and 'aproksitopayoga', i.e., 'eating meat of an animal killed otherwise than for the purpose of sacrifice.' The second reason, viz., 'gurudogdhrīvadha' seems to lay emphasis on 'the teacher' and not on the 'cow', i.e., he was cursed because he killed a teacher's cow and not because killing a cow was wrong. But the third reason, viz. 'aproksitopayoga' clearly suggests that a

<sup>5.</sup> Majumdar, R.C. & Pusalkar, A.D. (Ed.), The Vedic Age p. 393. For reference from other works vide Patil, D.R.: Cultural History from the CCOVAyu-Purang, pp. 214-215. Ction, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

cow was killed only for religious purposes and not for food (8.12-16).

The use of meat for the śrāddha purposes was allowed. King Ikṣvāku asked his son Vikukṣi to kill animals to perform śrāddha. But Vikukṣi ate the meat of a rabbit and went away for hunting.

Again the Br.P. gives a list of different kinds of meat by which the ancestors are satisfied for different periods. Thus it states that the pitrs are satisfied for two months by the meat of fish, for three months by the meat of deer, for four months by the meat of hare. for five months by the meat of bird, for six months by that of śūkara, for seven months by that of chāgala, for eight months by that of Aineya, for nine months by that of ruru, for ten months by that of the cow, for eleven months by that of aurabhra and for one year by the milk of the cow (220.23-25). Again, the meat of vādhrīņasa, raktaśiva, loha, śalka, simhatuņda, and khadga are enjoined to be used in the śrāddha. The meat of chāga, vārtika, taittira, śaśaka, śivāla, āvaka, and rājīva also should be used for the śrāddha purposes (220.185-87). The Br.P. further adds that though Manu has enjoined the meat of rohita to be used for the śrāddha purpose, the author of the Br.P. agrees with Varāha Purāņa and prohibits the use of rohita-meat for the śrāddha purpose and again states that one who eats the things prohibited by the author of the Br.P. would suffer in Raurava-hell (220.185-189). It is further stated that one who offers the meat of khadga in Gaya gets the desired objects (220.114). After prohibiting the use of meat of rohita in the śrāddha the Br.P. contradicts itself when it states that one who offers the meat of khadga and rohita gives unending satisfaction to the pitrs (220.28,29).

From the above account it can be seen that the use of meat was enjoined for religious purposes. At the same time the Br.P. states that meat is not to be eaten ordinarily. Thus it states that those who do not eat meat go to the Yamaloka happily. Among things that can be eaten, there is nothing sweeter than meat and as sweet things do not lead to happiness, one should not eat meat. One who gives a thousand cows in dana and one who does not eat meat, both are equal (216.63-65). The remnant of meat offered to the gods and the pitrs in the śrāddha and which is either sprinkled or killed for sacrifice and is used for medicinal purposes can be caten and no fault is incurred (221.111.122). The meat brought CC-0. Prof. Satya Vral Shasari Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

by a cāṇḍāla is considered pure (221.117). One who offers the meat of a cakora and syena to the pitṛs and eats it himself goes to the Pūyavaha hell along with his ancestors (220.197). In the 'bhaviṣyakathana' section it is prophesied that people would take more and more to meat eating in the future (230.7). There is a reference to a hunter killing various birds and pigeons and the principle of 'jīvo jivasya cāśanam' is referred to (80-46).

### Drinks

After a treatment of various eatables, a list of different kinds of drinks described in the Br.P. follows:

Amṛta: In the Rgveda amṛta is not found as the name of a divine drink. The term amṛta occurs as an attribute of soma which was regarded as a divine drink. The term amṛta signifying a celestial drink occurs in the Satapatha Brāhamaṇa. In the Br.P. amṛta occurs as a divine drink and its discovery by gods is also referred to (106.30), (93.17).

Wines and Liquors: Soma and surā constituted the principal drinks of the Rgvedic Aryans. Soma was probably a sacrificial drink and originally it must have been a popular drink also, but with the Rgvedic people surā was a more popular drink. The Br.P. also refers to soma as a sacrificial drink of the gods. Thus it is said that as king Veṇa did not behave righteously and did not perform sacrifices, the gods did not get the share of soma (4.32). One who sells soma is said to suffer in the Rudhirāndha-hell (22.22). Elsewhere the somavikrayin is included among the panktidūṣaka brāhmaṇas (220.132). A seller of soma and a drinker of soma are stated to fall down from the status of their high birth (223 29,30). To drink surā (liquor) is considered a greater evil and it is stated that one who drinks surā suffers in hell (22.9). Balarāma had great fondness for madirā and being intoxicated once he dragged the river Yamunā with his plough (a.198). In the bhaviṣyakathana

<sup>6.</sup> Macdonell, History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 98.

<sup>7.</sup> SBE. 26. 385 (n). ibid. 43. 251. ff.

<sup>8.</sup> Das, A.C.: Rgvedic Culture, p. 208 ff.

<sup>2-0.</sup> Hof. 1992 Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

it is said that in the future many more people would be addicted to madya. (230.7).

## Beverages

Honey was used with food by the Rgvedic Indians.10 The Br.P. states that one who gives either honey or something mixed with honey in dana gets endless merits (223.30). Among the other drinks sugarcane juice and gorasa seem to be popular (47.45). The matsyandi and phanita (the inspissated juice of sugarcane and other plants) are also referred to (220.158-161). The juice of the jambū tree flows through the Jambudvipa and it removes diseases and old age. (18.24-28). When the sinners are dragged in the Yamaloka they crave for fragrant drinks (215.30,31). A yogin who drinks water mixed with milk gets strength (238.44). Takra (butter-milk) is also referred to as an item of drink for a yogin (234.6). The seven great oceans are said to consist of salt, sugarcane, wine, ghee, curds, milk and water (18.12).

## Fasting

The purposes of fasting as a religious, magical or social custom are various. It may be an act of penitence or of propitiation, a preparatory rite before some act of sacramental eating or an initiation, a mourning ceremony, one of a series of purificatory rites, a means of inducing dreams and visions, a method of adding force to magical rites.11

The Br. P. has numerous references regarding fasts. Thus it states that one who has eaten prohibited things should fast for three nights (221.134). In order to get success one may eat on alternate days or once a day or on the sixth day or the eighth day. One may fast for a month or maintain himself on fruits, roots, air, pinyāka, curds and other eatable things. One may live on dry leaves and fruits (241.15-19). Again, one who eats on every fourth day, goes to Yamaloka in the peacock-yoked aeroplane, one who eats once a day goes there in swan-yoked aeroplane, who

<sup>10.</sup> Das, op. cit. p. 206.

<sup>11.</sup> Macculloch J.A., ERE, Vol. V. p. 759.

eats every third day goes there in divine chariots yoked by elephants, one who eats on the sixth day goes there on an elephant, one who fasts for fifteen days goes there in lion-yoked aeroplanes and one who fasts for a month goes there in bright aeroplanes (216.43-49). King Yayati went to heaven observing fasts (12.48). A yogin who is 'ekāhārī' and who does not eat for a month continuously gets strength (238,44, 45).

## Dress and Decoration

The dress of Indian men and women has grown out of the Indian way of life and is eminently suited to the climate. The art and style of dressing appears to have received thoughtful, scientific and aesthetic consideration.12

# Bark and Skin Garments

The dress of the Indians must have gone through certain stages before reaching its final shape. Vedic evidence shows that dress consisted of leaves and grass.13 In the next stage valkala or bark was used for clothing. It was used as a material for clothing because it was cheaper than wool and also easily available.14 The epic hero Rāma with his consort Sītā and brother Laksmaņa put on bark garments during his long exile. The other instances are of Gauri in the Kumārasambhava and Sakuntalā in the Sākuntala. The Br. P. also refers to valkalas (221.117), phalakaparidhāna and cīravāsas (241.13, 14). In the 'bhavişyakathana' it is said that people would wear valkalas and skin-garments (230.75). Clothes made of the skin of antelope are mentioned in the list of things denoting the prosperity to king Indradyumna (44.7). In the performance of the great sacrifice, various kings helped king Indradyumna by bringing many things among which skin-garments are also mentioned (47.23). Lord Siva is described as wearing an upper garment made up of the skin of the black antelope

<sup>12.</sup> Majumdar, Dress, and other personal requisites in Ancient India, Indian Culture, Vol. I, 1934-35, p. 207.

<sup>13.</sup> CHI, I. 101, Das, op. cit., pp. 210-5.

<sup>14.</sup> Majumdar, op. cit., p. 194. CC-0. Prof. Satva Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

(kṛṣṇājinottarīya) (40.37). One of the epithets of Lord Sīva is kṛttivāsas (54.6), (41.73). The vyāghracarma, siṃhacarma and a cloth made from the skin of the animal maṇivāla (viz. an animal having beads on his tail) are mentioned (241.12). The daityas are described as wearing elephant hides and clothes made of the skin of the black antelope (213.97). A vānaprasthī is advised to wear carma (222.41). The daityas are also said to wear nīlakavāsas, i.e., clothes made up of the bark of the fig-tree (213.98).

## Clothes in General

Clothes are generally referred to as objects of gifts to brāhmaņas on certain occasions like sacrifices. King Indradyumna is said to have given rich clothes in dana when he performed the great rājasūya sacrifice (47.84). It is said that one who gives clothes in dana goes to Yamaloka in chariots decorated by horses and elephants (216.12, 13). It is stated that one who does not give clothes in dana goes to hell (225.12). Clothes were used for the purpose of worshipping the deities. Thus they are said to be used in the worship of lord Purusottama (51.55) and the Sun (29.47). When we come to the chapters on śrāddha, clothes are referred to as a primary requirement of man. It is stated that without clothes there can be no activity, no sacrifices, no knowledge of the Vedae, therefore, should clothes be given as offering at the time of śrāddha (220.139). The Vāyu Purāna (80.39-40) also notes a similar sentiment. To the wearing of clothes is attached religious sanctity and it is stated that at the time of wearing clothes (221.132) water should be sipped. Stealing clothes is considered a sin. It is stated that one who steals clothes is troubled by the Yama-dūtas in the hells with fearful weapons (215.133, 134).

There are rules for not wearing particular types of clothes. Thus it is said that one should not wear red, variegated and black clothes; one should not make a complete change of his clothes or ornaments. Transparent raiment, whatever of much damaged, infested with lice or trampled on, or looked at by dogs, and licked or thrown down or fouled by the extraction of pus should be discarded (221.53-55).

## Kinds of Cloth

Various types of cloth are referred to from an examination of which it can be concluded that the use of cotton, silk and woollen clothes was in vogue. The term 'kośakāra' (217.92) suggests that silk clothes were also used. The Br. P. lists two terms referring to the trades depending on cloth, viz. vastravikrayaka and vastrasūcaka (44.30, 32). The term 'vastrasūcaka' suggests that the art of tailoring was known.

Amšuka: It is a type of silk made from cocoons (silk-worm). The Br. P. states that one who steals amšuka is reborn as a parrot (217.93). According to the Brhatkalpasūtrabhāṣya (4.33, 61), cīnāṃśuka is explained as 'kośikārākhyaḥ kṛmiḥ tasmājjātaṃ' or 'cīnānāmajanapadaḥ tatra yaḥ ślakṣṇatarapaṭaḥ tasmāj jātaṃ' i.e., it is a cloth made from smooth silk in a janapada Cīna by name. In other words, China silk was known.

Āstaraņa: The Br. P. states that the āstaraņas were given in dāna at the time a sacrifice was performed (47.84). The āstaraņa means either a rug or a carpet.

Avika: It is referred to in the Brue. (2.3.6) and it means literally the woollen cloth made of sheep's wool. The Br. P. states that by stealing avika, a man is reborn either a hare or a worm. 18

Dukūla: According to Amarakośa, the word dukūla is a synonym for kṣauma, 10 it means very fine cloth or raiment made of the inner bark of the dukūla plant. 20 The Br. P. states that women wore dukūla (47.88.89). One who steals dukūla is reborn a

For details vide Agrawala V.S., Hurşacarita, eka Samskrtika adlıyayana (in Hindi), p. 78, Moti Chandra, Prācīna Bhōratīya Veşabhūşā (in Hindi), p. 148, 153, 154.

<sup>16.</sup> Moti Chandra, ibid., pp. 148-149.

<sup>17.</sup> ibid., p. 10.

<sup>18. (217.15),</sup> The reading of the MS 'ka', viz. 'Koso' Jantu' seems to be better. The MS 'kha' reads 'Hamsa' instead of 'Sāśa'.

<sup>19.</sup> Moti Chandra, op. cit., pp. 54-55, Agrawal V.S.: op. cit. pp. 76-77. The Varnakaşamuccaya (ed. by Sandesara B.J.) describes it as 'kṛmikulād dukūlam iva'. Whereas it is said to be made of the strands of the bark of the dukūla tree (Moti Chandra, op. cit., p. 54.

<sup>20.</sup> Monier Williams, A Sanskrit English Dictionary, p. 483.

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swan (217.93). One who gives dukūla in dāna at the time of performing a śrāddha gets the objects desired (220.140).

Govastra: The meaning is not clear. It is stated that one should give govastra to one's acarya after worshipping Lord

Purușottama.21 (67.42).

Kambala: It is a blanket made of wool.<sup>22</sup> For the performance of the sacrifice of king Indradyumna, the kambalas were collected (44.7), (47.23).

Kārpāsika: Cotton clothes were used at the time of the Indus valley civilization. The word kārpāsa does not occur in the Vedic samhitās as well as in the brāhmaṇas. The earliest reference to it is found in the Aśvalāyanaśrauta-sūtra (2.3.4.17) and the Lāṭyāyana-śrauta-sūtra (2-6-1; 9.2.14).<sup>23</sup> The Br. P. states that one who steals kārpāsa is reborn a krauñca bird (217.94). The kārpāsa is recommended for being given at śrāddha (220.140 & 146).

Kāśa: It is a kind of grass used for mats. A vānaprastha, the Br. P. enjoins, should wear clothes made up of kāśa (222-41).

Kauśeya: This is a type of silk made from cocoons. The Br. P. recommends it for dāna at the time of performing the śrāddha, and one who gives it in dāna gets the desired objects (220.140), but immediately afterwards it is stated that the kauśeya should be avoided at the time of śrāddha ceremony (220.146).

Kṣauma: This is silk cloth prepared from the bark of the atasī<sup>24</sup> Though the Amarakośa identifies dukūla and kṣauma as stated above in the discussion of 'dukūla', the Br. P. distinguishes between the two inasmuch as it states that if a man steals dukūla he attains the birth of a swan, whereas the man who steals kṣauma is born as a rabbit or a worm (217.93, 95). The kṣauma-vastra is recommended for dāna at śrāddha. Here also the kṣauma and the dukūla are distinguished (220.140). The kṣaumasūtra also is recommended for being given at the time of the śrāddha (220.146).

<sup>21.</sup> The reading of MSS 'ka' and 'kha'. viz. suvastra' seems to be better.

For details vide Moti Chandra, op. cit. p. 10.28 ff.; 51-52, 57, 58, and Varnakasamuccaya, op. cit., p. 121, 181, 188, etc.

<sup>23.</sup> Moti Chandra, ibid., p. 14, 26.

<sup>·24.</sup> ibid., p. 13-14, 26, 28, 30, 36, 48, 55, 97, 147, 157, 162.

Kuśa: There are references in the Vedic texts to the wife of a sacrificer putting on a garment of kuśa grass.<sup>25</sup> The Br. p. states that a vānaprastha should wear an uttarīya made from kuśa grass (222.41). This shows that kuśa grass was used for making clothes.

Patrorna: This cloth is made from the fibre of the bark of nāga, lakuca, bakul and banyan trees. The Br. P. says that it should not be given away in dāna at the time of the śrāddha ceremony (220.146). Again it is stated that the one who steals patrorna gets the birth of an osprey (217.92).

Patta: The patta is a silk-cloth. According to the commentary of Ācāraṅga (2.5.1.3), the definition of patta is given as 'pattasūtra niṣpannāni', i.e., cloth made up of patṭasūtra. The same meaning is given in the commentary on the Brhatkalpasūtra-bhāṣya³⁵. The Br. P. states that one should not give paṭṭasūtra in dāna at the time of śrāddha (220.146). One who steals paṭṭa is born a rabbit or a worm (217.94, 95). Women used to wear paṭṭa (47.89) and the use of paṭṭavāsas in general is also referred to (241.13).

Rāṅkava: This is a type of cloth made from the skin of the raṅku deer. Dr. Moti Chandra states that the cloth rāṅkava is made up of the skin of the goats of the Pamir country.<sup>27</sup> The Br. P. states that in the sacrifice of king Indradyumna, many rāṅkavas were collected and given in dāna (47.23, 84).

Sanna: It is a cloth made up of hemp.<sup>28</sup> The Br. P. states that a hempen cloth (sanam) should be given in dana at the performance of the sraddha (220.146).

Varṇaka: Sama Sastri gives the meaning of this cloth as 'coloured blanket' (kambala)<sup>29</sup>. The Br. P. states that one who steals varṇaka is reborn as musk-rat (217.97).

<sup>25.</sup> Sat. Brāh. V. 2.1.8, Taittirīya Samhīta vi. 1.9, 7; 11.2; Ait. Brah. i.e., etc. Vāj. Sam., ii. 32; xi. 40. Commenting on this Dr. Das observes, 'this is a relic of byegone ages when probably grass dress was used.' Rgvedic Culture, p. 211.

<sup>26.</sup> ibid,, p. 148, 153, 169.

<sup>27.</sup> Moti Chandra, ibid., pp. 145-147; Wood: A Journey to Oxus, London, 1892, Introduction by Yule, p. 57.

<sup>28,</sup> For details vide Moti Chandra, ibid., p. 97.

<sup>29.</sup> Kautilya's Arthasāstra, p. 89, fn 6, CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

#### Costumes<sup>30</sup>

The Vedic Aryans used two garments, one upper and the other lower, but the Vedic evidence does not clarify whether males and females use different kinds of dress.<sup>31</sup> The style of clothing seems to have remained unchanged till the time of the brahmanas.32 Expressions such as divyavastradhara (178.69), (44.24), cāruveşah (41.25), (41.23), and rucirani vāsāmsi (192.71) are frequently used in the descriptions but they do not lead to any inference. But the Br. P. frequently mentions uttariya or upper garment (40.37), (178.75), (222.41). Again it is said that after a bath one should wear two clothes. This show that the dress generally consisted of two clothes (67.22). Again a man is prohibited from eating, worshipping the gods, calling the brahmanas, invoking fire and performing homa when clad in a single garment (221.33). At one place it is stated that women used to cover their breasts with a bodice or choli and wore patta and dukūla (47.87, 89). Again there are references to kaţaikavasana and kaṭakavastra (241.12). Do they refer to the cloth covering hips? Once there is a reference to 'ekavāsas' and 'caturvāsas' (241.8) but the context 'does not give any useful clue for the present enquiry.

Art of Weaving: Spinning and weaving was a useful industry at all periods of Indian history.<sup>33</sup> From the reference to tantuvāya in the Br. P. (44.38), it can be concluded that the art of weaving was well-known at that time.

Art of Washing: Connected with the art of weaving, was the subsidiary art of washing. The Br. P. refers to subhra (47.84) and dhauta (67.37), (28.21) clothes. It is again stated that at the time of the śrāddha one should give new and well-washed clothes (217.77). From the distinction here between brand new and washed clothes, it can be surmised that the art of washing was quite well-known. The following directions are given for the purification of clothes. Thus it is said that clothes and leather are

<sup>30.</sup> For costumes as it figures in Sanskrit and Prakrit literature, vide Ghurye G.S.: Indian Costume, Appendix, p. 227 ff.

<sup>31.</sup> Das, op. cit., pp. 210-5; Altekar A.S.: Position of Women in Hindu Civilization, pp. 334-5; Vedic Index 1.292; Cambridge History of India, I. 137.

<sup>32.</sup> CHI. I. 137.

<sup>33.</sup> Mohenjor Daro and the studies Kalley Civil is at 1011 in 201 by 32 Foundation USA

cleansed with water, cotton clothes with water and ashes, antelope skins and thick clothes by shaking out, bark garments or valkalas with water and clay and the avika clothes with oily sediment of the white mustard (siddharthakalka) or the sediment from the sesamum seed (tilakalka) (213.113-119). In the list of occupations, there is a reference to the rajaka or washerman which also supports the above inference (44.31).

Art of Dyeing: The secondary art of dyeing came into vogue together with weaving. As regards the dyes and colours, the Br. P. often refers to white, blue, yellow, red and multi-coloured clothes. Thus it is said that king Indradyumna gave white clothes in dana (47.84, 85). The platform that was erected for the bath of Kṛṣṇa and Balarama was covered with a white cloth (65.7). It is wellknown that Lord Krsna had a peculiar complexion, viz. 'Ghanaśvāma' and that he wore yellow clothes and Balarāma was fair in complexion and wore blue clothes. The Br. P. also refers to Kṛṣṇa as 'Pītavāsas' or 'Pītāmbaradharaḥ' (50, 52), (176.10). (178.8-10-23, 24), (191.22-24), (207.17, 18) and Balarāma as 'Nīlāmbaradharaḥ' (50.50), (198.17), (191.22-24), (202.24). It seems that contrasting and matching of colours was given due consideration in the choice of clothes. Lord Seşa is said to wear blue clothes (21.17) and Balarāma to wear 'asita' clothes (192.38). Red coloured cloth is also referred to. Lord Siva is described as wearing red clothes (40.67). The Puruşa emerging from the perspiration of Siva is also described as wearing red clothes (39.81). Lord Yama is described as wearing red clothes (215.49). Prostitutes also are said to wear red clothes (65.17). Again it is stated that one who steals red clothes is born as a jīvajīvaka or cakora bird (217.96). But once it is stated that one should not wear red, variegated or black clothes (221.50-54). A multi-coloured garment is again referred to when it is stated that the idol of Subhadra was dressed (vicitravastra-sachannām) (50.93). In the list of occupations, a rangopajīvin is referred to, from which we may infer that the art of dyeing was well-known (44.30). Though here the term may well refer to a 'painter', in another place when it is stated that Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma defeated the dyer (rangakāraka) of Kaṃsa and snatched away coloured clothes from him (192.71) the reference to a dyer is definite. Lord Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are once said to wear clothes decorated pwith the suyarna nianacurna

(187.4). It seems that the borders of the clothes were embroidered with gold. Even the dharmaśāstras prescribe that while performing a holy act one should wear a golden bordered cloth (187.4).

#### Head-dress

Head dress was common in ancient India and even in modern India, some kind of head-dress is worn by people on ceremonial, or on important occasions, or even when one goes out, except in Bengal, Orissa and Assam.<sup>34</sup> The Br. P. states that the daityas wore uṣṇīṣa and mukuṭa (213.98).

### Umbrella

Both Brhatsamhitā (ch. 72.922-924) and Krtyakalpataru (ch. 43, 62-67) devote each a chapter to the umbrella. The Br. P. prescribes the dāna of umbrella (67.40) and states that the donor of an umbrella in dāna goes to the Yamaloka in chariots yoked with horses and elephants (216.12,13) (29.58).

#### Footwear

Footwear was in common use in ancient India both as a matter of luxury and as a necessity.<sup>35</sup> Footwear was of two types, viz. those made of wood are called pādukā and those of grass or leather are called upānaḥ. The Br. P. refers to pādukā (58.42) and prescribes the dāna of upānaḥ (67.40), (216.12, 13). It is stated that the teacher should be given shoes and umbrellas (67.42). Again a person should not wear shoes already worn by others.

### **Ornaments**

Bharata in his Nāṭyaśāstra writes that according to the sages the ornaments of the human body are of four kinds technically described as āvedhya, bandhanīya, kṣepya and āropya. Ornaments for the ear like ear-rings and other jewellery worn here are called āvedyha; belts, bangles etc., come under bandhanīya; anklets and

<sup>34.</sup> Majumdar G.P, op. cit., p. 202.

<sup>35.</sup> *ibid.*, p. 305. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

other ornaments of the feet are called kşepya, and golden strings or chains and various kinds of necklaces are called āropya.

There were others: ornaments of the head like crowns and tiaras, those for the finger like vaṭikā and rings; for the throat (kanṭha) pearl necklaces, harṣaka, etc., keyūra and aṅgada for the upper arms; for the neck and breast trisara and neck-chains. Ornaments for the body were strings of pearls and other garlands, and those for the waist were the tarala and sūtraka. These were used by both males and females.<sup>36</sup>

The Br. P. refers to most of the ornaments stated above. The terms 'ābharaṇa', 'alaṃkāra' and 'ābhūṣaṇa' are used to denote ornaments in general. While women are said to have worn all the ornaments (41.22), (43.39), men were allowed the divine ornaments (43.34). The sage Kaṇḍu is also said to have worn divine ornaments when he made love to the nymph, Pramlocā (178.62). The idol of Subhadrā is said to be decorated by vicitra ornaments (50.54). King Śūrasena gave vicitra ornaments to his sister Bhogavatī on the occasion of her marriage (111.49). Pārvatī was brought in the wedding-hall after being decorated with proper ornaments—yogyābharaṇasampadā—(36.120).

## Names of Ornaments

Particular mention is made of the following ornaments:

Akṣasūtra: This ornament is mentioned along with the other requisites of a sādhu (58.43).

Angada: A bracelet worn on the upper arm.<sup>37</sup> These were used by the Āryans of the Rgvedic period<sup>38</sup> and continued to be used in later times. The Yakşa statue from Patna of about the third century B.C. shows that both bracelets and armlets were used in that period.<sup>39</sup> The Br. P. mentions that the idol of Lord Vāsudeva is decorated by the ornament angada (176.10, 23), (44.15).

<sup>36.</sup> ibid., Toilet, p. 663.

<sup>37.</sup> Macdonell, A Practical Sanskrit-Dictionary, p. 4.
38. CHI of India, I. 101; Macdonell, HSL p. 164; Altekar A.S., op. cit., p. 360.

<sup>39.</sup> Vide Stella Kramrisch, Indian Sculpture, Plate I, No. 2.

A keyūra is worn on the upper arm by both the sexes.40 Both angadas and keyūras are frequently mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Hopkins says that armlets are the most frequently mentioned ornaments in the great epic.41 The Br. P. describes Lord Kṛṣṇa as wearing a keyūra (192.41). A kaṭaka (bracelet) is also once referred to (241.12).

Cūdāmani: It is a jewel worn on the top of the head.42 According to the Br. P. the cūḍāmaņi is the best among all orna-

ments (64.25).

Dāma: This is a wreath or girdle. Prostitutes are said to wear the dama (65.17), although people in general too are said to have worn it in some instances (46.9).

Hāra: Since vedic times the use of necklace or hāra as an ornament had been in vogue.43 In the Br. P. there are many references to the hara. Lord Purusottama (53.33), Indra (36.9) and women (41.20) are described wearing hara or necklace. The ratnahāra (47.70) and the muktāhāra (65.7) are also mentioned. Lord Seşa is described as wearing a white necklace (21.17).

Jambunada: This is an ornament of gold for the siddhas in

Jambūdvīpa.44

Kāñci: The Kāñci is a small girdle generally adorned with bells. The Br. P. states that women wear it and it is associated with anklets (43.40).

Karnābharaņa: Ear-rings are referred to in the Rgveda,45 and ladies are said to wear these ornaments (43.38). Kṛṣṇa is said to wear a beautiful karņāvatamsaka (42.97). The word 'karņāva-

tamsaka' occurs also in the Harsacarita of Bāna.

Of all the ornaments, the kundala, a special kind of ear-ring, is most frequently referred to in the Br. P. Lord Kṛṣṇa is said to have worn a divine kundala (53.33), (176.10). Prostitutes are said to wear ear-rings (65.18). Lord Siva is also described as wearing earrings (37.11). Balarāma is also referred to as wearing them

42. Apte V.S., The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 428.

<sup>40.</sup> Macdonell A.A., op, cit., p. 74.

<sup>41.</sup> JAOS, 13.317,

<sup>43.</sup> Das, op. cit., p. 217, cf. also Macdonell, HSL, 164 and Cambridge History of India, I.101.

<sup>44. 18.28,</sup> also Matsya Purāņa p. 114.79).

<sup>45.</sup> Altekar A.S., op. cit., p. 358, Macdonell, HSL, p. 164, Das, op. cit., p. 216. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

(192.38). There are references to the style of wearing only one kuṇḍala. Thus Balarāma (50.50), (198.15) and Śeṣa (21.16) are said to wear one kuṇḍala. It seems that the one ear-ring was not worn in the lobe but in the upper part of one ear. Even at present the style of wearing one kuṇḍala in this style is in vogue. The karṇapūra is also referred to (46.19). Young men are said to wear the mṛṣṭakuṇḍalas, i.e., bright or polished ear-rings (41.28), (44.22).

Kirīţa and Mukuṭa: The Rgveda does not provide any evidence whether the people used any head-dress such as a crown or a turban. The wearing of crowns was a later usage. The Br. P. describes the lord Seṣa as a kirīṭin (21.17). Lord Kṛṣṇa is described as wearing a mukuṭa (42.47), (176.10,23), (192,41), (44.15) and a kirīṭa (207.18). The daityas are also said to wear the mukuṭa and the kirīṭa (213.98,99).

Nupura: The Rv. mentions the nupura or anklets<sup>47</sup> (40.21), (43.40). The padanupura is again referred to in connection with women (47.89).

Srīvatsa: This is the mark of a curl of hair on the breast of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa and of other divine beings. It is said to be white and is represented in pictures by a symbol resembling a cruciform flower. Dr Patil doubts whether it should be called a distinguishing ornament of Viṣṇu. The Br. P. often associates Śrīvatsa with Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa and calls it either a lakṣṃa or aṅka, i.e., a sign of Lord Kṛṣṇa (192.41).

Suvarnustabaka: This is an ornament having the shape and

design of a flower made up of gold (65.18).

Swastika: Any lucky or auspicious object, especially a kind of mystical cross or mark made on a person or on things as a sign of good luck. It is shaped like a Greek cross with the extremities of the four arms bent round in the same direction. The majority of scholars regard the swastika as a solar symbol, i.e., as representing a curtailed form of the wheel of solar Viṣnu, consisting of four spokes meeting at right angles with fragments of the periphery of the circle at the end of each spoke turning round in one direction

<sup>46.</sup> For details vide D.R. Patil, Cultural History from the Vayu-Purana p. 208.

<sup>47.</sup> Macdonell, op. cit., p, 164.

<sup>48.</sup> Monier Williams, op. cit., p. 1100. CC 49Pr Patil D. Rrat Spasta Collegion, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

to denote the course of the sun. According to the late Sir A. Cunningham the swastika has no connection with sun-worship, but its shape represents a monogram or interlacing of the letters of the auspicious words 'su asti' in the Aśoka characters. Amongst the Jains it is one of the fourteen auspicious marks and is the emblem of the seventh arhat of the present avasarpini. The Br. P. mentions swastika-shaped ornament worn by lord Śeşa (21.15).

Valaya: The use of the valaya is associated by the Br. P. with the gopis and it is said that while playing the rāsalīlā, their

valayas produced sweet sound (189.34, 36).

Hair-dressing constitutes one of the important decorations of a man's appearance. Long hair was considered a sign of beauty (41.22). The name of a nymph is given as sukesi (64.62), which means one with good hair. As regards the hair-style of women, three types are referred to. In one place women are described as having sthirālakas, i.e. hair thick in its growth (41.21). Another fashion seems to have been to extend the curls of the hair upto the ears (44.25). A pregnant lady is at one place advised not to leave her hair unbound at the time of twilight. (124.21). But the 'Māyā' of lord Brahmā is said to be muktakesī (134.6).

The Br. P. describes various types of hair style for lord Siva. Thus he is called Sikhandin (40.79), Kapardin (39.31) munda (37.14), (40.12, 65), Ardhamunda (37.14), having three jatās (40.11), having a jatājuta (74.13). He is also described as having a golden braid—hiranyakrtacūda—(40.16); elsewhere he is called nilasikhandin or having black hair (37.3). Again he is called ardhadandikeśah, (i.e. hair measuring half) (40.13).51 His hair are said to be sprinkled with water (40.33). When lord Siva approached Pārvatī in an ugly form, his coiffeur is described as 'keśāntapińgalah' (35.5). Further he is called muktakeśah (44.33) and Lord Siva (40.61) and Yama (215.47) are called ūrdhvakesas. King Sagara punished the Sakas by shaving off half their heads, the Yavanas and Kambojas by shaving them bald, the Pāradas he allowed to go with their hair dishevelled, and the Pahlavas were allowed to retain only their beards (8.48, 49). The Br. P. states that in the Kaliyuga, there will be a general scarcity of gold and

<sup>50.</sup> Monier Williams, op. cit., p. 1283.

<sup>51.</sup> Missing in MSS 'ka' and 'ga'.

jewels and, therefore, women will depend on their hair for adornment (229.16, 17). Again, it is laid down that one should comb one's hair in the first hours of the day (221.21). The yamadūtas are described as wearing a muṇḍamāla, having dry and fearsome growth of hair, tawny beards and are described as 'babhrupingalalola' (214.63-65). The daityas have long braids—lambasikhah (213.99). At one place it is stated that one should not shave one's hair (221.52). The names of two nymphs are given as Miśrakeśi and Nīlakeśī (68.62, 63). Does the term 'Miśrakeśī' refer to the use of artificial hair?

#### Beard

From stray references it can be surmised that growing beard was in vogue, though the Br. P. does not throw particular light on whether people in general grew beards or not. Lord Siva is said to have haritsmasru (40.61), the yamadūtas to have tawny beards, Yama himself to have a big beard (215.47). A vānaprastha should let grow his hair and beard (222.40). It is said that after the kṣaurakarma, one should take a bath (221.77,79). Again, in the list of occupations, a nāpita or barber is mentioned (44.32)

## Use of Flowers

Flowers constituted the primary item of decoration. The Br. P. has numerous references to flowers used as adornment. Prostitutes (65.17), king Pauṇḍraka Vasudeva (207.17,18), Śeṣa (21.17), Indra (36.9) and Balarāma (198.17) are said to wear garlands. Lord Śiva (40.67) and Yama (215.49) are said to wear red garlands. Divine garlands are also referred to (43.40), (44.21), (178.63). Lord Kṛṣṇa is described as wearing a vanamālā (44.15), (178.124) and a citramālā (192.40). Balarāma's garland is made of unfading lotuses given to him by Varuṇa (198.16). White flowers are prescribed for ordinary wear (221.81). Lord Kṛṣṇa is said to wear an ornament of white lotus (191.22), (192.41). Lord Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma are said to wear vernal flowers (184.53), (191.22). Lord Kṛṣṇa is said to hold a lotus in his hand (207.16). The mālākāra and mālyajivika are referred to (192.80,78).

#### Toilets and Cosmetics

The ointments were used for the body. Thus 'divyagandhānulene officer referred to (40.24), (41.24), (43.40), (44.21). The pana for the body was made fragrant (193.6). Kubjā was considered an expert in the art of anointing limbs with various ointments, and she was specially appointed for that purpose by Kamsa (193.4,5). In the list of the popular superstitions it is said that one should not massage the limbs with oil on the 8th, 14th and 15th days of the month and on festival days (221.42). One who touches bones is purified by a bath with an application of oil (221.136). It is also stated that one who gives oil to be applied to the feet and head in dana goes after death to a prosperous place (216.38). For a vanaprastha the oil of vernal flowers is prescribed as a means to massage the body (222.43). The mirror and the comb are mentioned (221.21). Brushing of the teeth is also mentioned (221.21,48). Collyrium is referred to in a simile (215.47). In the ceremonial baths given to Lord Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, the use of specific materials is enjoined. Lord Kṛṣṇa should be bathed with ghee, water, fragrant water and water of holy places mixed with candana. Then he should be anointed with candana, agaru, karpūra, kumkuma and the fragrant incense consisting of dhūpa, agaru, and guggula should be burnt before him (67.24.25).

## Music and Dancing

Music, both vocal and instrumental, and dancing, were quite well-known in Vedic times. <sup>52</sup> In the Br. P. there are numerous references to music, both vocal and instrumental, and also to dancing. Thus it says that on merupṛṣṭa some people were singing, some were playing musical instruments, and some people were dancing (26.33). In connection with the paring off of the splendour of the sun-god it is mentioned that Hāhā, Hūhū, Nārada and Tumburu who were skilful in music (gandharvakuśalāḥ) and accomplished in the three musical scales based on ṣaḍja, madhyama and gāndhāra notes, began to sing in joy-giving timbre

Majumdar R.C. and Pusalkar A.D. (ed.), The Vedic Age, pp. 392, 456-457, 518-519.
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both with modulations and with protracted tones (murchhanābhiśca tālaisca), and with combinations (samprayogaih) and some nymphs danced with demonstration of many dramatic actions replete with amorous and coquettish gestures and dalliance (32.97-101). Again to the svayamvara of Pārvatī—people came with musical instruments (36.65), and various types of musical instruments (Nānāvādya) were played (36.125). Load Siva is said to be Gītavāditranrtyanga and Gītavādanakapriyah (40.62), Nartanasila, Mukhavāditrakārin and Gītavādanakapriya (40.62), Nartanasila Mukhavāditrakārin and Gītavaditrakārin (40.20). On the Himālaya region, the nymphs danced, the gandharvas sang and played the divine instruments (38.19). Women knew the art of singing and dancing (41.33). Lord Siva was worshipped by melodious songs, musical instruments and dances (41.65,66). Prostitutes were proficient in singing, dancing and the art of conversation (43,43,43). Various musical instruments were played on religious festivals (65.8). The whole Rāmāyana was sung by Lava and Kuśa in the hayamedha performed by Rāma. Like Nārada they were wellknown as good singers and like the gandharvas possessed an enchanting voice (154.16). There is a reference to a candala who was expert in the art of singing and sung many songs with great skill in the musical scales—gāndhāra, şadja, niṣāda, pañcama and dhaivata—on the eleventh day in honour of lord Visnu (227.9-11). The songs were sung in the assembly of Lord Brahmā (7.30). The gods sing the Rks, Sāmans, Yajus and Atharvas in honour of Lord Siva and praise him by the words 'hāyi hāyi hare hāyi huvāhāva' (40.44,45), The gāyanas and varņakas (wandering singers) are mentioned (48.7).

We give below with a brief description the instruments that are mentioned:53

Ānaka: This is a large military drum beaten at one end. The gandharvas are stated to play it (32.102). As at the time of the birth of king Devamīḍhuṣa's son, the ānakadandubhis (same as ānaka) were played, he was named as Ānakadundubhi (14.15,16).

<sup>53.</sup> The meanings of various musical instruments are taken from Monier CC-0. Williams A. Sanskrit-English Dictionhr. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Bheri: A kettle-drum. At the time of bathing Lord Kṛṣṇa, the bheris were played (65.12). The western gate of Yamaloka resounds with the bheri (214.215).

Dundubhi: A kind of large kettle-drum. The Br. P. refers often to it. The reference to anakadundubhi is already noted above The gandharvas played it (32.102). It was played in the Ekamraka-kşetra (46.21). It was played in religious festivals like the performance of sacrifice (47.59). The anakadundubhis were played at the time of Kṛṣṇa's birth (182.12).

Ghaṇṭā: It is noted that bells were ringing at the time of bathing ceremony of Lord Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā (65.13).

Lord Siva is described as Ekaghaṇṭa, Ghaṇṭajalpa, Ghaṇṭin, Sahasraghaṇṭa, Sataghaṇṭa and Ghaṇṭamālāpriya (40.26).

Gomukha: Monier Williams doubts whether—this is a horn or a trumpet. Gomukhas were played in the Ekāmraka-kṣetra (46.20).

Jharjhara: This is a kind of drum. They were played during the bathing ceremony of Lord Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā. (65.12).

Kāhala: A kind of large drum played at the time of the bathing ceremony of Lord Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā (65.12). The western door of the Yamaloka resounded with the sound of kāhalas (214.115).

Kṣepaṇī: It is mentioned along with other musical instruments (41.18).

Mṛdaṃga: Again a kind of drum which the Br. P. often refers to. It was played at the bathing ceremony of Lord Kṛṣṇa (65.12). The Mṛdaṃgas were played in Pātāla (21.12). The gandharvas played it (32.102). It was played at the time of the performance of sacrifice (41.18) The Ekāmraka-kṣetra resounded with it (46.20). When Cāṇūra and Muṣṭika were defeated by Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma—Kaṃsa prohibited the playing of the Mṛdaṃgas (193.58). The western door of Yamaloka resounded with it (214.215).

Muraja: A kind of drum played at the time of the bathing

ceremony of Kṛṣṇa (65.12).

Panava: It is a small drum or a kind of cymbal used to accompany singing. It was played at the time of paring off the

lustré of the sun (32.102). It was played in the Ekāmraka. ksetra (46.20).

Pataha: It is a kettle-drum or war-drum. It was played both at the time of the bathing ceremony of Lord Kṛṣṇa (65.12) and at the time of the paring off of the lustre of the sun (32.102).

Puşkara: The skin of a drum, the puşkara is mentioned along

with other musical instruments (32.102).

Sankha: This is actually a conch-shell used for offering libations of water or as an ornament on the arms or at the temples of an elephant, such a conch-shell perforated at one end is also used as wind instrument or horn in the battles in epic poetry, each hero being represented as provided with a conch-shell which serves as his horn or trumpet. Often each of these has a name. The Br. P. often refers to it. It was played at the time of the bathing ceremony of Lord Kṛṣṇa (65.12), and at the time of the paring off of the lustre of the sun (32.102). It was played in the Ekāmraka-kṣetra (46.20) and at the western door of the Yamaloka (214.115).

Tumbīvīņā: A kind of lute. Lord Šiva is said to have the gourd

as his lute (40.23).

Turya: A kind of musical instrument akin to a pipe. It was played at the time of the paring off of the lustre of sun (42.103), at the time of the bathing ceremony of Lord Kṛṣṇa (65.12) and at the time of the wrestling between Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma, Cāņūra, and Mustika (193.29).

Vāditra: This was a pleasant instrument—a kind of mouth organ. The Br. P. seems to refer to it as a musical instrument in general (164.8). Lord Siva was fond of playing the vaditra on

his mouth (40.20).

Venu: A flute. It was played at the time of the bathing ceremony of Lord Kṛṣṇa (65.12), at the time of the paring off of the lustre of the sun (32.101) and the Pātāla (21.12) and Ekāmraka-kṣetra (41.18), (46.20) resounded with it.

Vīṇā: 54 The vīṇā or Indian lute is supposed to have been invented by Nārada. It usually has seven strings raised upon

<sup>54.</sup> For more information regarding Vina, vide Vīnāprapāthaka and Viņālakṣaṇa CC-0. Phy Paramesvaras ed by diso. Pade Pelos P1960; d by S3 Foundation USA

nineteen frets fixed on along rounded board, towards the ends of which are two large gourds. Its compass is said to be two octaves, but its range can be widened by the number of strings used. The Br. P. states that it was played at the time of the bathing ceremony of Lord Kṛṣṇa (65.14), at the time of the paring off of the lustre of the sun (32.101) and the Ekāmraka-kṣetra (41.18), (46.20), the Pātāla (21.12), and the western door of Yamaloka (215.111) are said to resound with it.

## Measurement of Time

In the Br. P., there are stray references to measurements of time.

In the Sat. Br. the following are the divisions of time: fifteen idanis = an etarhi; fifteen etarhis = a kṣiprā: fifteen kṣiprās = a muhūrta, fifteen muhūrtas = a day or a night; fifteen days = half month. Here the year is the highest unit of the measurement of time. The yuga, manvantara and kalpa are not mentioned here. The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya mentions the following divisions of time, viz; truti, lava, nimeṣa, kāsthā, kalā, nālikā, muhūrta, forenoon, afternoon, day, night, pakṣa, month, ṛtu, ayana, year and yuga. He too does not mention manavantara or kalpa. The Manusmṛti, however, gives the following units of the measurements of time: 18 nimeṣas = a kāṣṭhā; 30 kāṣṭhās = a kalā; 30 kalā = a muhūrta; 30 muhūrtas = a day and a night, and it further refers to kalpas, manvantaras and days of the manes and gods.

The Br. P. provides the following information regarding the measurements of time. If one starts counting from one sthana to another upto the eighteenth sthana, the number obtained on the last sthana is called parardha. In the viṣṇucittīya commentary of the Viṣṇupurāṇa VI. 3.4, the eighteen sthānas are given as follows: eka, daśa śata, sahasra, ayuta, lakṣa, prayuta, koṭi, arbuda, abja, kharva, nikharva, mahāpadma, śanku, samudra, antya, madhya

<sup>55.</sup> SBE, 44. 168 ff.

<sup>56.</sup> Trans. 133. ff.

<sup>57.</sup> SBE, 25.20-4.

<sup>58.</sup> Hindi Translations Des 583 of Echon, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

and parārdha. These eighteen sthānas are ten times more than each offer in their ascending order. The double of parārdha is para which is the time of prākṛta laya. According to the commentary of Şrīdharasvāmin on the same śloka of Viṣṇupurāṇa, the parārdha is equal to koṭikoṭi sahasra, i,e. 100,000,000,000,000,000,000

A nimeşa forms the lowest unit in the measurement of time: the time for a nimeşa being equal to time taken in pronouncing one mātrā. Fifteen nimeṣas=one kāṣṭhā, 30 kāṣṭhās=one kalā, fifteen kalās=one nāḍikā, 2 nādis=one muhūrta, 30 muhūrtas=one day-night, 30 day-nights=one month, twelve months=one year, one year=one day-night of gods/360 years=one year of gods/12,000 divine years=one chaturyuga, one thousand chaturyugas=a day of Lord Brahmā=one kalpa=14 manvantaras (231.4-12). This shows that the material of the Br. P. like that of Vāyu. Closely resembles that of the Manusmrti, the difference being that in the Brahma and Vāyu 15 nimeṣas make a kāṣṭhā while in Manu 18 nimeṣas are said to be equal to a kāṣṭhā. Lord Sīva is elsewhere described to be kāla, kāṣṭhā, nimeṣa, yuga, saṃvatsara, ṛtu, māsa and māsārdha (40.47, 48).

## Metals and Jewellery

We get the following information regarding the use of different metals in the Br. P.

Gold: The vessels were made of gold (4.101); the vessel of the gods was made of gold at the time of milking the earth (4.101). The yūpas and altars made of gold are referred to (13.168). Aeroplanes were also made of gold (36.11). The staircases of the svayaṃvara maṇḍapa of Umā were made of gold (36.110). The women of Avanti wore golden ornaments (43.39). Gold was given in dāna to brāhmaṇas (44.6). Pārvatī is described as sitting on a golden seat (38.24). The dāna of a golden cow was regarded very meritorious (29.47).

<sup>59.</sup> ibid., vide also Hopkins E.W.—Journal of the American Society, article on Time, Vol. 23, pp. 356-357.

<sup>60.</sup> Patil D.R., op. cit., p. 197.

The dāna of golden-horned cows is also referred to (47.82). Lord Siva is called Hiranyakavaca (40.15). In the Purusottama worship the gift of gold with other things is recommended to be given to an ācārya (67.42). Indra gave a golden chariot to Yayāti (12.7). One who steals a golden vessel is born as worm (217.91).

Silver: The vessel of pitrs is made of silver (4.102). The dana of of silver is recommended (216.30). One who steals a silver

vessel is born as a pigeon (217.91).

Iron: The parighas made of iron were used as weapons (206.7).

Pestles were also made of iron (210.13). The sinners [are tortured with lohasūcīs in hell (215.8).

Copper and other Metals: Brass (kāṃsya) things are cleansed with ashes and water and tin (trapu) and lead (sisu) with salt (221.125, 126). One who steals kāṃsya is born as a hārīta (217.90). By performing śrāddhas in the Revatī nakṣatra, one gets kūpya, i.e. copper or brass (220.41). A dāna of copper is recommended (47.84).

#### Art and Architecture

Though the Br. P. does not throw significant light on art and architecture the descriptions give us an idea regarding the construction of cities, temples, palaces and other buildings.

From a description of king Indradyumna's preparations for the great sacrifice, an idea of place-building and temple-building can be obtained. In order to build a temple experts in various sastras were called to find appropriate site. The persons expert in vastuvidya or science of building or architecture, the silpins and silpakarmavisaradas were called (47.1-3). Stones got by cutting rocks were brought on carts and boats (47.8,9). The yajñasala or sacrificial hall of king Indradyumna was built with hundred palaces, decorated with jewels and corals, with pillars painted with gold, and ornamented with toranas or arches (47.37-41). The temples shone like gold, studded with jewels and decorated with banners of variegated colours, within golden ramparts or prakaras surrounding seven cities (68.36-40).

The Br. P. furnishes many descriptions of cities. A great city was erected for the svayamvara of Pārvatī. It was decorated with jewels and hemamauktikas. The ground was engraved with gold and the walls were decorated with muktāhāra and sphaṭika. It was made fragrant with different objects (36.58). Another description states that a city was constructed with strong houses, towngates or ornamented gateways of temples (gopura), decorated with trikaca doors, consisting of watch-towers (aṭṭālaka), white palaces, doors leading to main roads, and decorated with moats, ditches or trenches of fosse found the town or fort (parikhā) and having ramparts (prakāra) and gardens (udyāna) (41.14-19). There is another similar description of the city with the addition that it was protected by strong wooden (argalas) and mechanical contrivances (yantras), was well-divided with four paths, was decorated by galleries or terraces in front of the house (vithi) (43.25-27).

The temple of Lord Visnu is surrounded by seven cities, the first made of gold, the second of marakata (emerald), the third of indranīla (sapphire); the fourth of mahānīla, the fifth of padmarāga (ruby), the sixth of vajra and the seventh of vaidurya (jewel). It was decorated with many jewels, corals and magnificent pillars (68.39-42). Lord Kṛṣṇa reclaimed twelve yojanas from the ocean and built there the city, Dwaraka, with big gardens, ramparts (vapra), hundreds of tanks and prakāras (196.13, 14). The city, Kāśī, is described as having many castles (durga) and inner apartments (kostha) (207.42). Yamapurī is described as made up of iron or a coppery red colour with an area of a lakh yojanas, four gates, golden ramparts, decorated with indranīla, mahānīla and padmaraga. Its eastern door is decorated by banners, vajra, indranīla, vaidūrya, muktāphala, the northern door by bells, camaras and jewels, the western door by jewels and tomaras, and the southern door of it is covered up by darkness, is very terrible and sinners enter the land of Yama through this door (214-104-123). The castles were constructed to protect the city (196.11). Round windows (gavākṣa) were kept looking into the house (128.18). The pleasure-grounds (vihāraśālā) were also constructed (140.15).

Special platforms were constructed for religious festivals and public sports. Thus the manca is mentioned at the time of the bathing ceremony of Lord Krsna, Balarama, and Subhadra (65.6).

At the time of the famous mallayuddha between Kṛṣṇa-Balarāma and Cāṇūra-Muṣṭika, the platforms were created for all the people. King Kamsa sat with his retinue on the highest royal platform. Special platforms were constructed for women, royal ladies and prostitutes (193.24-27).

Thus, the material culture of the people, depicted in Br. P., reflects the importance of cities, of public places, festivities, fine arts, technological devices and generally of rich material life for

those who were entitled to receive services.

# ETHNIC COMPOSITION

THOUGH THE ANCIENT Hindus did not write historical works of their own country, ancient literature contains valuable data reflecting the conditions of the times. A study of the list of tribes and peoples which is found in the Epics and the Purāṇas, is bound to throw valuable light on the distribution of peoples in ancient India as well as their movements.

The ancient people were organized on the basis of hoards or tribes, the tribes being political groups within a geographical setting. The headquarters of the tribe developed into a city and the political power of the tribes was transformed into 'city states'. In the words of Keith, 'Nations are big tribes welded together by force.' But the same race was split up into various tribal groups, thus 'tribe' and 'race' are not synonymous.<sup>1</sup>

The early civilization of India, is largely the record of the effort of different human groups to settle in India and adjust to the condition of physical geography and other factors. Ancient Indian literature provides information regarding the distribution of activities of the ethnic groups that settled in India in the centuries before and after the beginning of the Christian era. The Mahābhārata, the Purāṇas and the works on astronomy represent India as being inhabited by several tribes or peoples who gave their names to the particular regions where they settled. Though it is not easy to decide whether so many distinct groups of people lived on the Indian soil or whether it was the country that determined the name of the people or whether the name of the country was decided by the name of the people settling there, still the study of ethnography is important as it forms the real basis of the historical

geography of ancient India, since the geographical names of large areas were mostly derived from those of the ethnic groups who

occupied them.

The Purāṇas furnish a list of peoples and races gathered under each of the several divisions into which the country was supposed to have been divided from the geographical point of view, and the various tribes appear as belonging to one or the other divisions. The Purāṇas divide India into seven divisions keeping in view the several directions and the central part. Thus madhyadesa means the central part, udīcya, the northern division, prācya, the eastern division, daksiṇāpatha, the southern division, and aparānta, the western division. Then follows a group of tribal names under Vindhyavāsins which in its turn is followed by a group of names under parvatāṣrayins. The Purāṇas Vāyu, Brahmāṇḍa, Mārkaṇḍeya, Matsya and Brahma—are important for the study of the ethnology of India and as we can see the text of the Br. P. follows that of the Mārkaṇḍeya.

The lists of tribes are very corrupt and sometimes the variations are superficial. For example, in the Br. P., the MS. 'kha' reads 'satadrukas' for 'satadruhas' (27.46), which may be due to faults in MSS themselves, or faults of the copyists, or in the structure of the lists. A name may be left out by mere accident. Thus the Br. P. omits Colas from the southern division and Niṣādas from the south-eastern division, although almost every account includes them.' Sometimes the names have been displaced and the order revised. Sometimes the variations are on account of the existence of the same people in different places. Thus the Kalingas are mentioned in the Madhyadeśa (27.42), north (27.46), as well as in the south (27.55).

The Br. P. names a wide variety of groups and sub-groups living in different regions of India, some of these names referring to a distant age as far back as the period of Rv., e.g., the Gändhāras. It seems that these lists were arranged in a definite

<sup>2.</sup> Vide Chaudhari S.B., Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India.

<sup>3.</sup> ibid.

<sup>4.</sup> Thus the MS 'kha' reads Kaśmīras, Karunas in east (27.51), though they belong to north and are actually mentioned in that division in a previous śloka (27.50).

order, are stereotyped in character, but were altered to receive late additions of geography of a number of tribes and countries of varying periods of time. Thus the mention of Yavanas, Sakas and Pahlavas whose connection with India is assigned to the second and the first centuries B.C. shows the wide range of time the lists cover.

Like the others the Br. P. also divides the tribes according to the seven directions in relation to a centre, and mentions Matsyas, Mukutakulyas, Kuntalas, Kāśīs, Kośalas, Andhrakas, Kalingas, Samakas. Vrkas in the central division. The Vāhīkaras, Vātadhānas, Sutīras, Kālatoyadas, Aparāntas, Śūdras, Bāhlīkas, Keralas, Gāndhāras, Yavanas, Sindhus, Sauvīras, Madrakas, Šatadruhas, Kalingas, Pāradas, Hārabhūşikas, Mātharas, Kanakas, Kaikeyas, Dambhamālikas, Ksatriyas, Upamadešas, Vaišyas, Sūdras, Kambojas, Barbaras, Kaulikas, Vīras, Tuṣāras, Pahlavas, Ātreyas, Bharadvājas, Puskalas, Daserakas, Lampakas, Sunasokas, Kulikas, Jangalas, Ausadhyas, Calacandras, Kirātas, Tomaras, Hamsamārgas, Kaśmīras, Karuņas, Šūlikas, Kuhakas, Magadhas, belong to the north. The Andhas, Vamamkuras, Vallakas, Makhāntakas, Angas, Vangas, Maladas, Mālavartikas, Bhadratungas, Pratijayas, Bhāryangas, Apamardakas, Prāgjyotişas, Madras, Videhas, Tāmraliptakas, Mallas, Maghadhakas, Nandas, belong to the east; Pūrņas, Kevalas, Golāngulas, Rsikas, Musikas, Kumāras, Rāmathas, Šakas, Mahārāstras, Mahīsakas, Kalingas, Ābhīras, Vaišikyas, Āṭavyas, Saravas, Pulindas, Mauleyas, Vaidarbhas, Dandakas, Paulikas, Maulikas, Asmakas, Bhojavardhanas, Kaulikas, Kuntalas, Dambhakas, Nīlakālakas, belong to the south; the Sūrpārakas, Kālidhanas, Lohas, Tālakaṭas to the west; the Malajas, Karkasas, Melakas, Colakas, Uttamārņas, Daśāraņas, Bhojas, Kiskindhakas, Tosalas, Kośalas, Traipuras, Vaidišas, Tumburas, Caras, Yavanas, Pavanas, Abhayas, Rundikeras, Carcaras, Hotradhartas, to the Vindhya, and the Nihāras, Tuşamāragas, Kuravas, Tanganas, Khasas, Karnaprāvaranas, Urņas, Darghas, Kuntakas, Citramārgas, Mālavas, Kirātas, Tomaras to the mountains.

The Br. P. also states that some of the tribes were named after the eponymous kings. Thus Vrşadarbhas, Suvīras, Kekayas and Madras are named after the four sons of king Sibi Ausīnara (13.26, 27), the Angas, Vangas, Suhmas, Pundras, and Kalingas CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

after the name of the sons of king Bali (13.31, 32). The Pāṇḍyas, after the hadas and Colas after the names of the sons of king Ahrīda (13.147); and Gāndhāra after the name of the son of king Anriua (13.150, 151). Similarly, the Pañcala country is so called after the five sons of king Bāhyāśva, as they (pañca) were sufficient (alam) to protect the country (13.94-96).

Besides the above there are stray references of tribes associated with Pāriyātra mountain. Similarly, there are different classes of people living in the different dvipas into which the world is divided according to the puranic geographical tradition.

In the following pages, an attempt has been made to study the tribes mentioned in the Brahma Purāṇa in the light of information gathered from other sources. The list is arranged in an alphabetical order and a chart of tribes contained in the Purānas has been given in an appendix for a comparative study.

Abhayas: Mentioned along with other tribes as belonging

to the northern region (27.61). See Aparantas.

Abhīras: A wellknown tribe of ancient India which after reaching eminence during the epic period occupied more than one centre in the country. Its descendants may be traced to the present Ahīrs who are tribal and abound in the Northern India, Bihar, Nepal and some portions of Rajputana. By occupation they are mostly cow-herds and agriculturists.5

The Br. P. mentions them at various places. Once they are grouped along with Saurāṣṭras, śūdras and arbudas as occupying the west (19.17). The Br. P. also mentions them along with a number of groups and as 'Daksināpatha-vāsinah' (27.54-57). They are said to have occupied the Pañcanada region. They are said to have defeated Arjuna while he was passing through the Pancanada region and carried away the widows of Lord Kṛṣṇa. Here they are called dasyus and mlecchas and are said to have used sticks for fighting (212.14-28).

Ambaşthas: The Br. P. mentions the Ambaşthas as Ānava kşatriyas believed to have originated from Suvrata, son of Usinara, and therefore intimately related to the Yaudheyas, Sibis, Navarāṣṭras, Kekayas, Madrakas, Vṛṣadarbhas and Suvīras (13.21-25). The Br. P. also associates them with Madras, Aramas and

Pārasīkas (19.18).

<sup>5.</sup> Law B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p. 78,

Andhrakas: The Br. P. also mentions them as inhabiting the eastern region along with Vāmamkuras, Vallakas, Makhāntakas, Angas, Vangas, Maladas, Malavartikas, Bhadratungas, Pratijayas, Apamardakas, Prāgjyotisas, Madras, Videhas, Bhārvangas, Tāmraliptakas, Mallas, Magadhakas, and Nandas. Here they are called Andhras.6 According to B.C. Law the references to Andhras placed in the eastern region are incorrect as they were always a people of the southern region. But the Br. P. also mentions them in the Janapadas of central division where the Andhrakas are classed with Matsyas, Mukutakulyas Kuntalas, Kāšīkošalas, Kalingas, Šamakas and Vṛṣas.8 The Br. P. further notes that Andhakas and Avantis had marriage relationships. Mathura was the place of residence of Andhrakas and the Yadayas but they abandoned it from the fear of Kalayavena and established themselves in Kuśasthali on Lord Krsna's advice (14.53.57).

Angas: Anga was one of the sixteen Mahā-Janapadas of ancient India and was very rich and prosperous. The Mahā-bhārata mentions the races of Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Suhma as the descendants of the saint Dīrghatamas by Sudeṣṇā, wife of Bali (Cr. Ed. I.98.31, 32). The Br. P. also states that they were the sons of king Bali (13.35-37).

The Br. P. mentions them as belonging to the eastern region along with the Vangas, Maladas, Mālavartikas, Bhadratungas, Pratijayas, Bhāryangas, Apamardakas, Prāgjyotiṣas, Madras, Videhas, Tāmraliptakas, Mallas, Magadhakas and Nandas (27.52). Again they are mentioned with Vangas, Kalingas, Kaśmīras and Kośalas as residing in the mountain Rṣika (230.70).

Apamardakas: The Br. P. mentions these as occupying the eastern janapadas along with others. <sup>11</sup> See, Andhrakas.

Aparantas: The term Aparantas is generally applied to all the tribes living in the western region of India. The word Aparanta in its narrowest sense is identified with northern Konkan

<sup>6. (27.51-53),</sup> the MS. 'kha' reads 'Andhakā Muhukārāśca Kāśmīrāh Karunastathā, Sālikāh kuhakāścaiva Samagnirvahirgirah.

<sup>7.</sup> Law B.C., op. cit., pp. 164-165.

<sup>8. 27.42, 43,</sup> the MS: 'kha' here reads 'Atharvas' instead of Andhākas'.

<sup>9. 15.54,</sup> the MS 'kha' here reads 'Añcakāh' for 'Andhākāḥ'.
10. Law, India as described in the early texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p. 19.

CC-4 Pro27-52; Chaudhari feads it as Capamardakas, op. cit.

with its capital at Śūrpāraka. Its lies to the west of Maharashtra. with its capratic accounts used the term in its most extended sense The range almost all the countries from the great desert of Cutch upto Sopara to the north of Bombay, stretching in land as far as Mount Abu in the north and Nasik in the South.12

The Br. P. states that the Saurastras, Sudras, Abhīras and Arbudas lived in the Aparanta country (19.17). But elsewhere it groups the Aparantas along with the people residing in the north (27.44-51). Elsewhere, the Br. P. states that the Sürpārakas, Kālidhānas, Lohas and Tālakaṭas dwelt in the western region (24.59).

Ārāmas: The Br. P. connects them with Madras, Ambasthas

and Pārasikas (19.18).

Arbudas: These must have been the people dwelling on and around the Arbuda mountain which is identified with the modern Mount Abu in the southern end of the Aravalli hills.<sup>13</sup> The Br. P. mentions them along with Saurāṣṭras, Śūdras and Ābhīras as dwelling in the western region (19.17).

Aryakas: They dwelt in Plaksadvipa and belonged to the

brāhmana class (20.17).

Asmakas: They formed one of the kşatriya tribes of ancient India. They are not referred to in Vedas but are mentioned in the epics and the Purānas where they are classed with the most prominent kşatriya peoples of ancient India, such as the Kurus and Šūrasenas.<sup>14</sup> The Anguttara Nikāya (I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256, 260) and the Purānas (Padma, Svarga kh. III, Visnudharmottara IX) state that Assaka was one of the sixteen Mahā-janapadas of Jambūdvīpa (India).

The Br. P. mentions them as belonging to the southern region along with the other tribes and associates them with Maulikas and Bhojavardhanas, thus confirming its location in the Godāvarī region (27.57). In the Suttanipāta, the Aśmaka country is associated with Mulaka and mentioned as situated on the bank of the river

Godāvarī immediately south of Patitthāna.

Atavyas: The Br. P. mentions them as occupying the southern region along with other tribes. 15 See Abhīras.

<sup>12.</sup> Vāyu, 45.129, Mat. 114.50-51, Mārk. 57.49.

<sup>13.</sup> Law, op. cit., p. 400.
14. *Mbh.* Bhīşmaparvan, Cr. ed., 6.10.42.
15. 27.56; the MS 'kha' reads 'Āpaḥ' for Aṭavyas.

Atreyas: In the Bhīşmaparvan of the Mbh. the Ātreyas are mentioned in a list of fierce mleccha people along with other barbarous tribes. (Cr. ed. VI. 10-67). The Harivamśa P. seems to suggest that the people originated from the Rṣi Prabhākara of Atri's race whence came the name of the tribe Ātreya (XXXI. 1660-8). The Mārkandeya P. mentions them as peoples of the north along with the Bharadvājas, Puṣkalas, Kaśerukas, Lampakas, (LVII, 39-40) etc. The Br. p. mentions them along with other tribes as belonging to the north (27.48). See, Aparāntas.

Ausadhyas: The Br. P. mentions them with other tribes as

occupying northern region (27.49). See, Aparantas.

Bāhlikas: These are the same as the Vāhlīkas, Vālhīkas and Valhikas. Bālhika Prātīpya, a king of this tribe, is mentioned in the Satapatha Brāhmaṇa. According to Vāyu Purāṇa, Siva Purāṇa rand Kāvya Mīmāṃsā of Rājasékhara they are placed in the northern division. Thus it should be identified with some region beyond Punjab. The Mehrauli iron pillar inscription proves that they were settled beyond the Indus. Accordingly, the country of the Vālhīkas may be identified with the region now known as Balkh, in other words they should be identified with the 'Baktriol' occupying the country near Arachosia in the time of the geographer Ptolemy. 18

The Br. P. mentions them along with the other tribes as occupying the north (27.45). (See, Aparāntas.) Elsewhere they are mentioned along with Pāñcālas, Matsyas, Madras, Kekayas, Sūrasenas, Kaśmīras, Taṅgaṇas, Khasas, Parvatīyas, Kirātas, Karṇaprāvaraṇas and Marus (54.12).

17. VII, 60, 20; cf. also Rāmāyaņa. Kişkindhya Kānda 44.13.

XII, 9, 3, 103 & 13; Mbh. Adi. 95,44; Udyoga (Cr. Ed) 47.6; Sabhā Cr. Ed. II. 24-15.

<sup>18.</sup> Raychaudhari H.C., PHAI, 4th ed. p. 449, f.n., IA, 884, p. 408; cf. also Raychaudhari's Paper on 'The Karddamaka Kings' in I.H.Q., Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 39-7; Indian Culture, I, 518-19; Sircar D.C., Select inscriptions bearing on Indian history and civilization, University of Dacca, 1942. cf. also Pargiter, Dynasties of Kali age, p. 50, C. Chakravarty ABORI, 1926-1, p. 174; Jayaswal K.P., JBORS, XVIII, p. 31, Smith JRAS 1897, pp. 15-17; Majumdar R.C., Early History of Bengal, Dacca University Bulletin, No. 3, 1925, p. 7.

Bāleyas: The Angas, Vangas, Kalingas, Pundras and Suhmas were named after the five sons of Bali and were called Bāleya were list and Bāleya brāhmaṇas. 19 he Br. P. also states that they were the descendants of king Bali and on Brahmā's words, they became brāhmaṇas as well as kṣatriyas well versed in the śāstras and sastras respectively (13.31.34).

Marbaras: The Mahābhārata associates the Barbaras with the Ambaşthas, Paiśācas, Kulindas, etc., (Sabhāparvan, Cr. Ed. 29.115) and also with the Yavanas, Kambojas, Gandhāras and Kirātas and places them on the uttarapatha or northern country (Cr. Ed. 12.200.40). The Matsya Purāņa (CXXI. 45-51) also places them in countries watered by the cakşu stream of the Ganges before it entered the sea. The Mārkandeya (LVII, 39) also places them in the Sindhu country and the Brhatsamhitā refers to them as a north or north-west tribe.

The Br. P. also mentions them with other tribes as occupying

the northern region (27.47). See Aparantas.

Bhadratungas: They are mentioned with other tribes as occu-

pying the eastern region.20 See Andhas.

Bharadvājas: The Mārkandeya places them in the north (LVII, 39-40). The Mbh. places them in the upper Gangetic region near the hills.21 In the Bhīşmaparva of the Mahābhārata, they are mentioned in a list of fierce mleccha people along with other barbarous tribes, mainly in the north and north-west (Cr. Ed. 6.10.67). The Br. P. mentions them along with other tribes as occupying the northern country (27.48). See Aparantas.

Bhāryangas: These are mentioned with other tribes as

belonging to the eastern region (27.52). See Andhas.

Bhāvinas: These belonged to the Plakṣadvīpa and corresponded

to the śūdra class (20.17).

Bhojas: The Br. P. mentions them as occupying the Vindhya region along with other tribes. viz.. Malajas, Karkaśas, Melakas, Colakas, Uttamārņas, Daśārnas, Kişkindhakas, Toşalas, Kośalas, Traipuras, Vaidišas, Tumburas, Caras, Yavanas, Pavanas, Abhayas, Rundikeras, Carcaras and Hotradhartas (27.59-62).

Pargiter, AIHT, p. 158.
 27.52, the MS. 'kha' reads 'Brahmatungas'.
 Adiparva CXXX, 5102-6; CLXVI, 6328-32; Vanaparva (Cr. Ed.) 3, 135.9; Salya XLIX, 2762-2824.

Bhojavardhanas: The Mārkandeya Purāna (LVII, 48-9) places the Bhojavardhanas along with the Maulikas, Aśmakas, Andhas, Naiṣikas and Kuntalas in the southern region. The Br. P. also mentions them along with other tribes as occupying the southern country (27.57). See Ābhīras.

Calacandras: These are mentioned with other tribes as occupying the northern region (27.49). See Aparantas.

Caras: These are mentioned with the other tribes as occupy. ing the Vindhya region (27.61). See Bhojas.

Carcaras: These are mentioned with other tribes as belonging to the Vindhya region (27.61). See Bhojas.

Citramārgas: These are mentioned as residing in the mountains along with other tribes, viz., Nihāras, Tuṣamārgas, Kuravas, Taṅgaṇas, Khasas, Karṇaprāvaraṇas, Ūrṇas, Darghas, Kuntakas, Mālavas, Kirātas and Tomaras (27.63, 64).

Colakas: The Br. P. mentions them with other tribes as belonging to the Vindhya region.<sup>22</sup> See Bhojas.

Dambhakas: These are mentioned along with other tribes as occupying the southern region.<sup>23</sup> See Abhīras.

Dambhamālikas: These are mentioned along with other tribes occupying the northern region (27.56). See Aparāntas.

Damins: They belonged to Kuśadvīpa and corresponded to the brāhmin class.<sup>24</sup>

Daṇḍakas: The Matsya (114.46-8) and Vāyu Purāṇas (45.126) describe Daṇḍakas along with Pulindas, Vaidarbhas and Vindhyas as belonging to the dakṣṇṇāpatha region. They are the people dwelling in the Daṇḍaka forest. According to the Rāmāyaṇa, the forest seems to have covered almost the whole of central India from Bundelkhand region to the Godāvarī, but the Mahābharata seems to limit the Daṇḍaka forest to the source of the Godāvarī. The Br. P. mentions them with other tribes as belonging to the southern country (27.56). See Ābhīras.

Darghas: These are mentioned along with other hill tribes (27.63). See 'Citramārgas'.

23. 27.57; the MS. 'kha' reads 'Dambhavas'.

<sup>22. 27.59,</sup> the MSS 'kha' and 'ga' read the 'Utkalas' in place of 'Colakas'.

<sup>24. 20.39;</sup> the MSS 'ka' and 'kha' read 'Dayinah' and 'Deminah respectively.

<sup>25.</sup> JRAS., 1894, p. 241; cf. Jātaka, Fausboll, Vol. V., p. 29.

<sup>26.</sup> Sabhāparvan, Cr. Ed. 2.28, 43 Vanaparvan, 3:83.38 Foundation USA

Darvas: The Br. P. associates them with Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pāradas, Koņisarpas, Mahīsakas, Colas, Keralas and others, and their dharma was uprooted by king Sagara (8.49, 50).

Daśārṇas: It appears that during the epic period they had more than one settlement. The Mbh. seems to refer to two Daśārṇas, one in the west (Sabhāparvan ch. 32) and another in the east (Sabhā Parva ch. 30). The Rāmāyaṇa and the Purāṇas refer to a Daśārṇa country as dwelling in the Vindhyan tract.<sup>27</sup>

The Br. P. also mentions them as dwelling in the Vindhya region, along with the other tribes (27.60), and associates them with the countries Kirāta, Kalinga, Konkana. Kṛmi, Kumārī, Tangana, Kratha, the northern bank of Sindhu and the southern bank of Narmadā as unfit for śrāddha (220.8, 9).

Daśerakas: The Br. P. mentions these along with other tribes as occupying the northern region (27.48). See Aparāntas. The Mārkandeya (LVII, 44) places them with Vātadhānas, Śividas, Śavadhānas, Puṣkalas and Kairātas as people of north (LVII, 44).

Dhānyas: These belonged to Krauncadvīpa and corresponded to the vaisya class (20.53).

Gāndhāras: According to the Matsya (Ch. 48), Vāyu (Ch. 99) and Viṣṇu Purāṇas (4th aṅka, ad. 17), a certain Gāndhāra was born in the family of Druhyu, one of the sons of Yayāti and the kingdom of Gāndhāra was named after him. According to the Brahma (13.150, 151) and Bhāgavata Purāṇas (IX edn. 23), Gāndhāra was fourth in the line of descent from Druhyu. The Br. P. further states that the horses of the Gāndhāra country are well-known (13.150-151). The Br. P. locates them in the northern country along with the other tribes (27-45). See Aparāntas.

Golāngulas: No people of the name Golāngulas are known. The Matsya Purāṇa (CXIII, 46) reads Colas and Kulyas and the Vāyu (XLV, 124) Caulyas and Kulyas instead. They cannot be satisfactorily identified. The Br. P. mentions them along with other tribes as occupying the southern country (27.54). See Ābhīras. Pargiter states that the name 'Golāngulas' is pure fancy, stories of tailed races being common all over the world. (Mark. P., p. 331, fn.)

Rāmāyaṇa, Kişkindhā K. 41, 8-10; Brd. P. Ch. 49; Va. 45; Matsya Ch. 114 Mārk, Ch. 57, Vāmana p. 13.

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Haihayas: According to the epic and Purāṇic tradition the Haihayas were ruling in the Avanti-Māndhātā region, and tradition runs that Kṛtavīrya's son Arjuna raised the Haihaya power to eminence and captured Mahīṣamatī from the Karkoṭaka Nāgas.<sup>28</sup> The Haihayas including their five constituent elements or branches, viz., the Vītihotras, Śaryātas, Bhojas, Avantis and Tuṇḍikeras all belonging to the family of Yadu, were spread over the whole extent of country from the river Jumna to the river Tapti.<sup>29</sup>

The Br. P. states that originally they descended from king Yadu (13.204) and their descendants were Vītihotras, Sujātas, Bhojas, Āvantayas, Tauņdikeras, Tālajaṅghas and Bharatas (13.204). There was a great fight between the Haihayas and king Bāhu and they dethroned him but his son Sagara avenged the defeat and killed the Haihayas. In their fight with Bāhu, the Haihayas were helped by Tālajaṅghas, Śakas, Yavanas, Pāradas, Kambojas, and Pahlavas.<sup>30</sup>

Hamsamārgas: According to the Matsya Purāṇa, the river Payoṣṇī flowed through the countries inhabited by Tāmaras and Hamsamārgas. The description of the Matsya seems to locate the two tribes in the region east of Tibet. The Br. P. mentions them with other tribes as belonging to the north (27.50). See Aparāntas.

Hārabhūṣikas: The Mārkaṇḍeya (LVII, 37) locates them with the Kalingas, Pāradas and Mātharas. The Vāyu P. (XLV,116) reads Hārapūrikas and the Matsya Purāṇa (CXIII, 41) reads Hāramūrtikas. They are undoubtedly the same as Hārahurakas mentioned in several works and the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and they should be identified with Harhavaili or Arghandab region in western Afghanistan and the Br.P. has rightly placed them amongst the udīcyas (27.46, the Ms. 'ga' reads 'Hāramūṣias').

Hotradhartas: The Br. P. mentions them with other tribes as

living to the Vindhya region (27.61).

Jāngalas: They are mentioned with other tribes as dwelling in the north (27.49). See Aparāntas.

<sup>28.</sup> Pargiter, AIHT, p. 266.

<sup>29.</sup> Pargiter, Mark. P., p. 371, AIHT, p. 267.

<sup>30. (8.29-43);</sup> cf. Vāyu vang. ed., Ch. 88.

<sup>31.</sup> Law B.C.. Tribes in Ancient India Pp. 398 gitized by S3 Foundation USA CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Dent. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Kaikeyas: The Br. P. mentions them with other tribes as located to the north (27.46). See Aparantas.

Kālatoyadas: They are mentioned with other tribes as occupy-

ing the north (27.44). See Aparantas.

Kālidhanas: They are mentioned as occupying the west along

with the Surparakas, Lohas and Talakatas.32

Kalingas: The Kalingas, Angas, Vangas, Pundras, and Suhmas have been named after the five sons of Bali, viz., Kalinga, Anga, Vanga, Pundra and Suhma; and all of them were called Bāleya kṣatras and Bāleya brāhmins.33

The Markandeya (LVII, 47-7) states that they dwelt in the south along with the Mahārāṣṭras, Mahīṣakas, Ābhīras, Vaiśikyas, Savaras, Pulindas and others. According to the Br. P. also the Kalingas are associated with Paundras and Magadhas (19.16) and are mentioned as living in south along with other tribes (27.55). See Abhīras.

According to epic evidence as contained in the Mahābhārata the Kalinga country comprised the entire tract of country lying along the coast of Vaitarani in Orissa to the borders of the Andhra country.34 Kālidās in his Meghadūta mentions both Utkala and Kalinga, from which it is evident that they were two distinct The Br. P. also mentions them separately and states that there were good relations among the kings of Kalinga, Utkala, Avanti and Kośala (47.7). Elsewhere it states that the king of Kalinga induced Rukmi to call Balarama for a game of dice and that he was afterwards killed by Balarama (201.10).

The Kalingas are not mentioned in the north Indian history until the time of Yuan Chuang's visit to the country in about the second quarter of the 7th century A.D. The Br. P. also places them along with the other tribes in north (27.46). See Aparantas). Again they are located in the Madhyadeśa along with other tribes (27.41,42). See Andhrakas. They along with angas, Vangas, Kāśmīras and Kośalas are said to reside in the Rsika mountain (230.70). According to Baudhāyana (I.1.30-31) the country was branded as an impure one and was included in his list of samkīrņa yonayah. The Br. P. also associates it with other

<sup>32. 27.58;</sup> the MS. 'ka' reads 'Kālivanas'.

<sup>33. 13.31, 32;</sup> Pargiter, AIHT., p. 158.

<sup>34. (</sup>Cr. Ed.) III, 114, 4; cf. also Ray Chaudhari PHAI, 4th Ed., p. 75. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

countries like Kirāta, Konkaņa, Kṛmi, Daśārna, Kumārya, Tangana, Kratha, the northern bank of Sindhu, the southern bank of the river Narmadā and the eastern bank of Karatoyā as unfit for

Kambojas: They appear to be one of the early Vedic tribes. Their earliest mention occurs in a list of ancient vedic teachers given in the Vamsa Brāhmana of the Sāmaveda. They are mentioned by Yāska, (Nirukta II.8) Mbh. (Sabhā Parva, Chs. 3.18.19). Pānini (IV.1.175).

The Br. P. mentions them as dwelling in the north along with other tribes (27.48). (See Aparantas). It is also stated that they were formerly kşatriyas and that at first they helped the Haihayas and Tālajanghas along with the Sakas, Yavanas and Pāradas in dethroning the Ikşvāku king Bāhu but afterwards Sagara, the son of king Bāhu, determined to take revenge and after killing the Haihayas he was engaged in annihilating the others, but all these tribes secured the aid of Vasistha, Sagara's spiritual preceptor. Listening to the words of Vasistha, Sagara set the Kambojas free after having their heads completely shaven.35 Thus though they were formerly kşatriyas, Sagara caused them to give up their own religion. According to Manusmrti,36 the Kambojas, Sakas, Yavanas and other kşatriya tribes were gradually degraded to the condition of sudras on account of their omission of the sacred rites, and their not consulting the brāhmins. The Mayūravyaṃsakādigana of Pāņini speaks of the Kambojas as muņda or shaven headed.37

Kanakas: The Mahābhārata (Bom. Ed., II.49.25) groups them along with Sakas, Tuṣāras and other mountainous people who brought presents of paipilika gold to the Pāṇḍavas. The Br. P. mentions them as kanakas with other tribes as belonging to the northern country.38 (See Aparantas.) The word kanaka makes its association with gold highly probable.

Karkasas: They are mentioned along with other tribes as belonging to the Vindhya region (27.59). (See Bhojas.)

<sup>35. 8.35-51;</sup> cf. Vāyu, Vang Ed. Ch. 88; Harivaniša Ch. 13, 14.

<sup>36.</sup> X. 43, 44, vide also Kautilya's Arthasastra, trans. Sama Shāstri, p. 455.

<sup>37.</sup> Cf. also Max Muller, History of Anc. Sanskrit Literature, p. 28. 38. 27.46; The MS. 'ka' reads 'Karakas' CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Karṇaprāvāranas: The Br. P. mentions them as a hill-tribe along with others (27.63). Elsewhere they are associated with pāncālas, Matsyas, Madras, Kekayas, Bāhlīkas, Šūrasenas, Kaśmīras, Tañgaṇas, Khasas, Parvatīyas, Kirātas, Marus, Antyajas and Antyajātis (54.12.13). According to S.B. Chaudhari their region may be located in the eastern Himālayas.<sup>39</sup>

Karunas: They are mentioned along with other tribes as

belonging to the northern country (27.50). See Aparantas.

Kāšīs: Kāšī was the ancient name of the kingdom of which the chief city was Vārānasī, the modern Banaras, which is situated miles below Allahabad on the northern bank of the Ganges, at the junction between that river and the river Vāruņā.40

Kāśī figures prominently in the Mahābhārata and the Purānas. The Br. P. relates the story of Divodasa as follows: Saunihotra, a certain king of Kāśī, had a son named Dhanvantari who studied the Ayurveda with Bharadvaja, and later became king of Kāśī. Divodāsa was the great grandson of Dhanvantari and in his time Banaras was deserted owing to curse and was infested by a rāksasa named Ksemaka. Divodāsa left Benaras and founded his kingdom on the banks of river Gomati. Once Bhadrasrenya, son of Mahīşman and king of Yadu dynasty, acquired Banaras. His sons were defeated by king Divodasa who recovered the city, sparing the life of Bhadraśrenya's youngest son, Durdama. Later, however, this Durdama again took Banaras which was then recovered by Pratardana, son of Divodāsa. It is also stated that Alarka Saunatī, grandson of Pratardana, re-established the city of Banaras after killing the raksasa Ksemaka.41 The Br. P. mentions them as dwelling in the janapada of the Madhyadeśa (27.41). See Andhrakas.

Kaśmīras: The Br. P. places them in the north along with other tribes (27.50). (See Aparāntas.) They are also associated with Pāñcālas, Matsyas, Madras, Kekayas, Bāhlīkas, Śūrasenas, Tanganas and Khasas (54.12-13) and elsewhere they are mentioned along with Angas, Vangas, Kalingas, and Kośalas and dwelling in the Rṣika mountain (230.70).

<sup>39.</sup> IHQ, XXI, 313, fn. 112.

<sup>40.</sup> Rhys Davis, Buddhist India, p. 34.

<sup>41. 11.40-54: 13.57-74:</sup> Harivamsa chs. 31-2: Vāyu ch. 92. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Kaulikas: They are mentioned along with other tribes as belonging to the southern country.42 See Abhīras.

Kauravas: The Br. P. states the Kauravas were so-called after Kuru, the son of Samvarana (13.107). The Ancient Kuru country comprised Thaneswara and included Sonapat, Amin, Karnal and Panipat and was situated between Saraswati on the north and Drsadvatī on the south.

Keralas: The Mārkandeya (57.45), Vāyu (XLV, 124) and Matsya (CXIII,46) Purānas locate them in the south. The Br. P. differs and mentions them with other tribes as belonging to North India (27.45). (See Aparantas). Elsewhere they are mentioned along with Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pāradas, Koņisarpas, Mahīśakas, Darvas, Colas and others and king Sagara is said to have uprooted their dharma (8.50). (See Kamboias).

Kevalas: The Br. P. mentions Kevalas as residing in the south along with the other tribes (27.54). (See Abhīras). The Mārkandeva also reads Kevalas instead of Keralas (57.45). It seems that the Br. P. also here reads Kevalas for Keralas since the Keralas are not separately mentioned in the list of the tribes residing in South India and thus corroborating the thesis that the Br. P. version of tribes follows that of the Markandeya.

Khasas: The Mark. P. places them in the eastern region with Prāgjyotişas, Candreśvaras, Māgadhas and Lauhityas. 43 A hilltribe in Assam is at present called Khāsi.

The Br. P. mentions them as a hill-tribe along with others (27.63,64). (See Citramargas). Elsewhere they are associated with Pāncālas, Matsyas, Madras, Kekayas, Bāhlīkas, Sūrasenas, Kaśmīras, Tanganas, Parvatīyas; Kirātas, Karnaprāvaranas, Marus, Antyajas, and Antyajātis (54.12,13).

Khvātas: These belonged to Krauficadvīpa and corresponded to the śūdra class (27.53).

Kirātas: The Mārkandeya (LVII 44) associates these with Vāṭadhānas, Sividas, Daśerakas, Savadhānas, Puṣkalas, etc., as people of north. The Mahābhārata also places them in the northern India along with Kambojas, Gandhārās, Barbaras and

<sup>42. (27.57),</sup> the MS. 'ka' reads 'Kālikas'.

Yavanas.41 The Br. P. also states that they belonged to the north and associates them with other tribes (27.49) (See Aparantas) but Ptolemy suggests that the Kirātas dwelt in the estern region and the Br. P. at one place confirms their location in the eastern part; probably Tibet (19.8).

Kiskindhakas: These are mentioned with other tribes as

belonging to the Vindhya region (27.60). See Bhojas.

Konisarpas: These are mentioned along with Sakas, Yavanas. Kambojas, Pāradas, Mahīşakas, Darvas, Colas and Keralas and they were formerly kşatriyas but later on their dharma was

uprooted by king Sagara (8.50). See Kambojas.

Kośalas The Br. P. mentions them as dwelling in Madhvadesa along with other tribes (27.41). (See Andhrakas). Again they are stated to reside in the Vindhya region along with other tribes (27.60). (See Bhojas). Elsewhere they are associated with Angas, Vangas, Kalingas, Kasmīras, Kośalas, and others as dwelling in the Rsika mountain (230.70).

Ksatriyas: They are mentioned as a tribe along with others

as occupying the north (27.47). See Aparantas.

Kuhakas: These were the people of Kohistan situated between the river Indus on the west and the Hazara district on the east. The river Indus flowed through the janapadas of Gandhara, Urasā, and Kuhū (Matsya P. 21.46-47). The Br. P. also places them with other tribes as occupying the north (27.50).

Kulikas: In the copper plates of the Pala kings, the Kulikas are mentioned along with Khasas, Hunas and Mālavas.46 The Br. P. mentioned them along with other tribes as belonging to

north India (27.49).

Kulyas: They are mentioned with others as belonging to the Madhyadeśa (87.41). See Andhrakas.

Kumāras: These are mentioned with other tribes as belong-

ing to the southern country (27.55). See Abhiras.

Kuntalas: These are mentioned as a hill-tribe along with others (27.63). See Citramargas.

44. Cr. Ed. XII. 200.40; cf. also Vișņu P., Wilson's Ed. II.

<sup>45.</sup> McCrindle, Ancient Indin, p. 277; cf. also Lassen-Indisches Alterthum, Vol. III, pp. 235-7.

Law, B.C., Tribes in Ancient India, p, 65.
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Kuntakas: The Br. P. mentioned them once with the other tribes as dwelling in the Madhyadeśa. 47 Cunningham identifies the country of the Kuntalas of the Madhyadesa with the region near Chunar. According to certain Mysore inscriptions, 48 the Kuntala region included the southern part of the Maharashtra state and the northern portion of Mysore, and it was ruled at one time by the kings of the Nanda dynasty. The Br. P. also mentions them along with other tribes as belonging to south India (27.57). See Abhīras.

Kuravas: The Kuravas dwelt in the Plakşadvīpa and corresponded to the kṣatriya class.49 Elsewhere they are mentioned along with the other hill-tribes (27.63). See Citramargas.

Lampakas: The Mārkandeya mentions them with Kuserukas. Sulakaras, Culikas, Jagudas and others as a people of the north (LVII, 40). According to the Br. P. they belong to northern India and are mentioned along with other tribes (27.49), See Aparāntas.

Laukikas: These are mentioned with other tribes as belonging to the northern region. 50 See Aparantas.

Lohas: They are associated with Surparakas, Kalidhanas and Tālakatas as belonging to the western region (27.58).

Madras: The same as 'Madrakas'. The Br. P. once associated them with Ārāmas, Ambasthas and Pārasikas (19.18). Again they are associated with other tribes as occupying eastern India (27.53). See Andhrakas.

Madrakas: They were the descendants of Madraka, son of Sibi Ausinara and were septs of the family of Sibi like the Kaikeyas (13.26) (See Madras). The Br. P. mentions Madras as occupying the eastern India and elsewhere it associates the Madrakas along with other tribes and places them in the north (27.45). (See Aparantas). The Br. P. further states that Lord Kṛṣṇa married Suśīlā, the daughter of the king of Madras (201.4).

<sup>47. 27.41;</sup> the MS. 'ka' reads 'Kratugah'.

<sup>48.</sup> Rice, Mysore and Coorg from inscriptions, p. 3; Fleet, Dynasties of Kenarese districts p. 284, fn. 2.

<sup>49. 20.17,</sup> the MS. 'ka' reads 'Kuraras'.

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Magas: They belonged to the Sākadvīpa and correspond to the brahmin class (20.71). They are said to be the Sun worshippers who came from Persia to India.

Varāhamihira (Brhatsamhitā 60.19) tells us that the installation consecretion of the images and temples of the Sun should be caused to be made by the Magas. This shows that the Magas were, according to Varāhamihira, the special priests of the Sun-god. There is a legend concerning this in the Bhavisya-Purāna (ch. 139).

The inscription at Govindapura in the Gaya district dated Saka 1059 corresponding to 1137-38 A. D. represents Magas as having been brought in the country by Samba. There are traces of the Magas elsewhere, and there are brahmanas of that name in Rajputana and some other provinces of northern India.51 These Magas are the Magis of the ancient Persia and the idea of locating them on a continent called Sākadvīpa must have arisen from the fact that they were foreigners like the Sakas, with whom the Indians has been familiar since the second or third century before the Christian era.52

Magadhas: In ancient times, the Magadhas occupied a prominent place. They are mentioned in the Av.53 and the

Brāhmanas.54

Once the Br. P. associates them with Paundras and Kalingas and places them in the south (19.16) and elsewhere groups them with the other tribes and places them in the north (27.50). (See Aparantas.) Elsewhere they are called the kṣatriyas dwelling in Śākadvīpa (20-71).

But once the Br. P. mentions Magadhakas with other tribes as belonging to the eastern division. 55 (See Andhrakas). According to Parāsara and Varāhamihira too Magadha was situated on

the eastern portion of the divisions of India.56

<sup>51.</sup> Bhandarkar R.G., Vaisnavism, Saivism and minor religious systems, pp. 218-219.

<sup>52.</sup> ibid.

<sup>53.</sup> Av. Harvard oriental series, p. 774. cf. also Lāļyāyana Śrauta Sutra VIII. 6. 28 Kātyāyana śrauta sūtra XXII, 4,22.

<sup>54.</sup> Taittirīya Brāhmana III, 4, 1, 1.

<sup>55. 27.53;</sup> for details, vide Law B.C. op. cit., pp. 195-234.

<sup>56</sup> Chnningham, Ancient Geography New Belhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Mahārāṣṭras: The Mārk. P. (LWIII, 46-7) mentions them with the Kalingas, Mahīṣakas, Ābhīras, Vaišikyas, Savaras Pulindas and others as occupying south India.

The Brahma Purāṇa also locates them in south along with other tribes (27.55). See 'Ābhīras'. Mahāraṣṭras no doubt refer to the modern Maharaṣṭra region.

Mahīṣakas: The Mārk. P. places them in the south along with Kalingas, Mahārāṣṭra, Ābhīras, Vaiśikyas, Śavaras, Pulindas, and others. The Mahīṣmati seems to have been situated on the river Narmadā between the Vindhya and the Rkṣa and can safely be identified with the modern Māndhātā region.

The Br. P. 58 also places them in the south along with the other tribes. See Ābhīras. Elsewhere they are associated with Sakas, Yavanas, Kambojas, Pāradas, Koņisarpas, Darvas, Colas Keralas. Here they are respresented as kṣatriyas, their dharma later on being uprooted by king Sagara (8.50). See Kambojas.

Makhāntakas: They are classed with other tribes as residing in the eastern region (27.51). See Andhrakas.

Maladas: The Rāmāyaṇa refers to Maladas and Karuṣas. Pargiter assumes that they might be the people of the modern Māldah in which are situated the old cities of Gauda and Pāṇḍūya. The indication here is to the region lying south of the Ganges, from its junction with Jumna as far as the Shahabad district, for the Gangetic basin in Bihar was a country of plains, besides being the same of well known people like the Magadhas and Angas. This location of the Karuṣa and Malada janapadas in a forest country obviously refers to the Baghelkhanda tract, particularly its eastern portion which is a rough hilly tract cut up by a succession of long parallel ridges belonging to the Vindhyan system, heavily closed in jungle. Thus it follows that the Malada-Kāruṣa embraced a great portion of the modern Baghelkhanda-Mirzapur-Shahabad region. Thus they seem to be a people of the central

58. 27.55, the MS. 'ka' reads 'Mahīsikas'.

<sup>57.</sup> LVII, 46-7, cf. also Matsya, P. CXIII, 47; Mbh. Sabhāparvan, IX. 366.

XXIV. 18; cf. also Vāyu XLV? 122, Mbh. Sabhā. XXIX, 1081-2, the Cr. Ed. (2.27.8) reads Malayas instead of Maladas; Dronāparva (Cr. Ed.) 7.6.6.
 Imperial Gazetteer of India, new ed., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908; VI-185.

division though they are mentioned as a people of the east. 61 The Br. P. groups them with the other tribes as belonging to the eastern

region (27.52).

Malajas: They are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Bhīşma Parvan, Cr. Ed. 6.10.48) and Rāmāyaņa (ādi. XXVII. 16-23). They were the neighbours of the Kāruşas and occupied the district of Shahabad, west of the Sone (ādi. 8-16). The Br. P. classes them with other tribes as belonging to the Vindhya region. 52 See Bhojas.

Mālavartikas: It is a corruption of Malla-parvatikas or dwellers of Malla-parvata which is identified with the Parasnatha ills of Chotanagpur. 63 The Br. P. mentions them with other ribes as belonging to the eastern India (27.52). See

\ndhrakas.

Mālavas: According to Brahma Purāņa and others the Mālavas are associated with the Saurāstras, Avantis, Ābhīras, Sūras and Arbudas and are described as dwelling along the Pāriyātra mountains.64 Thus it seems that they occupied other territories besides the Punjab or Rajputana.

The Br. P. refers to Ujjayinī and Avanti in Malwa (43.24). Again a mythological origin of the name Malwa is provided by the Br. P. as Indra was purified of the sin of brahmin-murder and as his malaniryātana ceremony was done here, the place is called Mālavā (96.19). Elsewhere the Br. P. associates them with other hill-tribes (27.64). See Citramargas.

Mallas: They were a powerful people of eastern India at the time of Gautama Buddha and are often mentioned in Buddhist and Jaina works. The Br. P. also places them in the eastern region along with the other tribes (27.53). See Andhrakas.

Mānasas: They belonged to Śākadvīpa and corresponded to

the kşatriya class (20.72).

Māndagas: They belonged to Śākadvīpa and corresponded to śūdra class (20.72).

Mandahas: They belonged to Kuśadvipa and corresponded to śūdra class (20.39).

<sup>61.</sup> Chaudhari S.B., p. 178, fn. 3.

<sup>62. 27.59;</sup> the MS. 'kha' reads 'Malasyanas'.

<sup>63.</sup> Chaudhari, op. cit., p. 193.

<sup>64. 19.17,</sup> Bhāg., XII 1. 36: Visnu. Bk. II. Ch. III.
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Mārukas: The Br. P. mentions them with Mālavas as dwelling in the Pāriyātra mountain (19.17).

Marus: The country Maru is referred to in the Taittiriya Arangaka (VI.II.135) and it usually refers to the desert country of Rajputana. In the Junagadh inscription of Rudradaman the country Maru is placed between Svabhara and Kaccha. The Br. P. conjoins them with the tribes Pañcalas, Matsyas, Madras, Kekayas, Bāhlīkas, Šūrasenas, Kasmīras, Tanganas, Khasas, Parvatīyas, Kirātas, Karņaprāvaraņas, Antyajas and Antyajātis (54.12). The country Maru is generally considered to be the desert of Rajputana.

Mātharas: B. C. Law<sup>65</sup> states that this reading is wrong; and instead of this the Matsya P. reads Rāmathas. (CXIII.43). The Mbh. locates them in the west. 66 The Vāyu P. (XLV.117) and Mbh. also mention them as Mātharas. There is no clue to their identification. The Br. P. mentions them as a northern tribe along with others (27.46). See Aparantas.

Maisyas: They appear to be one of the prominent kşatriya tribes that made up the Vedic Aryan people in the earliest period of their residence in India. They are referred to in the Rv. (CVII. 18.6).

The Br. P. places them in the central India along with other tribes (27.41). See Andhrakas. They are also associated with Pāncalas, Madras, Kekayas, Bāhlīkas, Śūrasenas, Kaśmīras, Tanganas, Khasas, Parvatīyas, Kirātas, Karnaprāvaranas, Marus and Antyajas (54.12). The Puranas constantly associate the Matsyas with Surasenas and therefore it is believed that they might possibly have been united under one king.67

Mauleas: The Br. P. mentions them as occupying the southern country along with the other tribes (27.56). See Abhīras

Maulikas: The Br. P. mentions them as a people belonging to the south and mentions them with the other tribes (27.57). Abhīras.

Melakas: They are mentioned with others as belonging to the Madhyadeśa (27.41). See Andhrakas.

<sup>65.</sup> Law B.C, op. cit. p. 390.

<sup>66.</sup> Sabhā (Cr. Ed. 2.19.11; Vana 3.48.27; Śānti (Cr. Ed.) 12.65.14. CC-067-of Cambridge History by India, Vol. II p. 316.

Musikas: The Mbh. (Bhīsma, Cr. Ed. 6.10.57, 62) and the Mark. P. (LVII. 46, LVIII. 46, LVIII. 27) mention them as a people of south.

The Br. P. mentions them as belonging to south along with the other tribes (27.55). See Abhīras. Pargiter suggests that the Musikas were probably settled on the banks of the river Musi on which stands modern Hyderabad (Mārk. P. p. 366).

Nandas: Mahāpadama Nanda, son of Mahānandin by his sūdra wife, destroyed the kṣatriya race and established sūdra rule in Magadha. Thereafter eight sons of Nanda ruled over Magadha for a hundred years, and then the Nandas were destroyed in their turn by Kautilya who installed Candragupta Maurya on the throne. 88 The Br. P. mentions them along with other tribes as belonging to the eastern country (27.53). See Andhrakas.

Niṣādas: According to epic and puranic traditions the Nisadas had their settlements among the mountains that from the boundary of Jharwar and Khandesh in the Vindhya and Satpudā ranges. 89 The Brhatsamhitā (XIV. 10) places them in the south east of the Madhyadeśa.

According to the Junagadh rock inscription of the year 72 of mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman (i.e. 150 A.D.), Rudradāman is said to have conquered the Niṣāda country with E. and W. Mālwā, the ancient Mahīşmati region, the district round Dwaraka in Gujarat, Saurāstra, Aparānta, Sindhusauvīra and others. The Br. P. gives the mythological origin of the Nisadas. A black man arose as a result of rubbing the left thigh of king Vena. The sage asked him to sit down (niṣīda) whereupon he was called Niṣāda and he became the progenitor of Nisadas and they are said to dwell in the Vindhya mountains.70

Nihāras: Pargiter suggests that they were probably the Newars who inhabit the great valley of Nepal and its vicinity and who were the owners of the country prior to the Gurkha invasion.71

69. Malcolm, Memoirs of Central India, Vol. 1, p. 452.

70. IV. 46, 47; 14.9; Vāyu 62, 137-38; 45; Brahmānda 36, 158-73; 49; Kūrma

1.1.6; 14.12; Siva VII 56.30-1; Mbh. (Cr. Ed.) 12.59.102.

<sup>68.</sup> Law B.C., op. cit., pp. 196-197.

<sup>71.</sup> Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society, Vol. LXIII, Part 1, 213, 214 & 217 Mark. P. LVII. 56; Vāyu reads Nigarharas (XIV. 135), Matsyā reads Nirāhāras (XIII. 55).

The Br. P. mentions them along with others as a hill-tribe (27.63).

Nīlakālakas: They are mentioned with other tribes as belong. ing to the southern region (27.57). See Abhīras.

Pahlavas: The Vāyu P. states that after killing the Haihayas, king Sagara was engaged in annihilating the Kambojas, Sakas, Yavanas, Pahlavas and others. All of them went to the sage Vasistha and listening to his words Sagara freed them after fixing punishments on them. The Br. P. also relates the same story but reads Pahnavas instead (8.50). The Br. P. mentions them with others as belonging to north (27.48). See Aparantas.

Pāncalas: The Br. P. states that the name Pāncāla was given to the country after the five sons of king Bāhyāśva of the Ajamīdha dynasty, viz., Mudgala. Srījaya, Brhadişu, Yavīnara and Kṛmilāśva as the five of them (Pañca) were sufficient (alam) to protect the region (13.96). Elsewhere they are associated with the Matsyas, Madras, Kekayas, Bāhlīkas, Śūrasenas, Kaśmīras. Tanganas, Khasas, Parvatīyas, Kirātas, Karnaprāvaranas, Marus and Antyajas (54.12, 13).

Pāradas: Like Barbaras and Daradas, they seem to be a barbarous hill tribe and are associated in Puranas and epics with similar rude tribes of the north.72

According to the Br. P. the Pāradas were one of the allies along with Sakas, Kambojas, Yavanas and Pahlavas of the Haihaya Tālajanghas that drove Bāhu, the eighth king in descent from Hariscandra, from his throne. The king Sagara, the son of Bāhu, · degraded them and ordered them to have their hair-locks long and dishevelled.73 The Manusmṛti states that they were originally kşatriyas, but were degraded owing to the extinction of sacred rites. The Br. P. further places them in the north with other tribes (27.46). See Aparantas.

Pārasikas: They are mentioned along with Madras, Ārāmas and Ambasthas.74

<sup>72.</sup> Mbh. Sabhāparvan (Cr. Ed.) 2.47. 10, 2.48.12, Drona (Cr. Ed.) 7.97.13; Vāyu 88; Harivamša 1.44; Mārk. P. LVII, 37; LVII, 31.

<sup>73. 8.35-50;</sup> Harivamša XIII, 763-4; XIV, 775-83; Pargiter AIHT. pp. 208 f.n.

<sup>74. 18.18;</sup> cf. also Vişnu 2.3.17.

Parvatīyas: They are mentioned along with the Pāncalas, Matsyas, Madras, Kekayas, Bāhlikas, Śūrasenas, Kaśmīras, Tanganas, Khasas, Kirātas, Karnaprāvaranas, Marus and Antyajas (54.13).

Paulikas: The Br. P. mentions them along with other tribes

as belonging to south.75 See Abhiras.

Paundras: They along with Angas, Vangas, Kalingas, Sumas are said to have been named after the five sons of king Bali and were called Baleya kṣatras and Baleya brāhmaṇas. The Br. P. places them in south along with Kalingas and Magadhas (19.16).

Pavanas: They are mentioned along with other tribes as dwell-

ing in the Vindhya region (27.61). See Bhojas.

Prāgjyotiṣas: The Br. P. states that they belonged to the eastern country and associates them with others (27.53). See Andhrakas. Again it states that those belonging to the eastern country resided in Kāmarūpa (19.16) and it deals at great length with the fight of Lord Kṛṣṇa with Naraka, the king of Prāgjyotiṣpura (a. 202). The Mār. P. also places them in the eastern region.

Pratijayas: The Br. P. associates them with other tribes as

belonging to the eastern country (27.52). See Andhrakas.

Pulindas: The Mbh. (Cr. Ed. 12.200.39), Matsya (114.46.8), Vāyu (45.126) and Mārk. (57.45-8), Vāmana (13.35) and Garuḍa (55.10) place them in the south. The Br. P. mentions them along with others as occupying the south (27.56). See Ābhīras. An ancient tradition regards the Pulindas as dog-eaters.<sup>78</sup>

Purpas: They are mentioned along with other tribes as

belonging to the south.79 See Abhīras.

Puṣkalas: The Mark. P. (LVII-44.39-40) places them in the north along with Vātadhānas, Šividas, Daśerakas, Śavadhānas, and Kairātas as peoples of north. The Br. P. mentions them with

<sup>75. 27.57;</sup> the MS. 'ga' reads 'Pālikas'.

<sup>76.</sup> Br. P. 13, 30-1, Agni 278; Matsya 48, 19; Vişnu IV. 18-1-2 Garuda 143. V. 71.

<sup>77.</sup> Pargiter Mark, P. pp. 327-30, 357.

<sup>78.</sup> AIHT, p. 235.

<sup>79. 27.54,</sup> the MS. 'ka' reads 'Purāṇāḥ'.

other tribes as people belonging to northern India. See Aparantas. Elsewhere it is said that the Puşkalas belonged to Krauncadvipa and corresponded to brāhmaņa class (20.53).

Puṣkaras: They belonged to Krauncadvīpa and corresponded to the kṣatriya class (20.53).

Rāmathas: The Br. P. places them alsong with others in south (27.55). See Ābhīras.

Rṣikas: The Mārk. P. (LVIII. 27) refers to them as people dwelling in the south. They were apparently the same people as the Mūṣikas or the Mūṣakas. The Rṣikas are a well-known people referred to as dwelling in the north in the Mbh. (Cr. Ed. 2.24.25), Rāmāyana (Kiṣkindhā XLIV, 13) and Matsya P. (CXX. 53). The Rṣikas should not be confounded with the Mūṣikas, the former occupied the region of Khāndeśa as correctly identified by Prof. V.V. Mirashi and the latter with the region of Hyderabad where the Musi river still preserves its old name. The Br. P. places them in the eastern region (27.55).

Rundikeras: They are mentioned along with other tribes as belonging to the Vindhya region.<sup>81</sup> See Bhojas.

Sakas: They were one of the allies of Haihaya-Tālajanghas in defeating Bāhu. Later on they were defeated by Sagara who uprooted their religion (80.32-48). Elsewhere they are mentioned with other tribes as belonging to south (27.55). See Ābhīras.

Sālvas: The Viṣṇupurāṇa (II.III.16-18) places them in the extreme west along with the Sauvīras, Saindhavas, Hūṇas, Sakalas, Madras, etc., and the Br. P. also locates them in the Aparānta or western country (19.18). According to Pargiter the Sālva country was on the western side of the Aravalli hills, their city Mārtikāvaṭa having been situated on the north-eastern limits of the modern Gujarat.82

Samakas: They are mentioned along with others as dwelling in the Madhyadesa (27.42). See Andhrakas.

Saravas: The Br. P. mentions them with other tribes as belonging to the southern country. See Abhīras.

<sup>80. 27.48;</sup> the MS. 'ka' reads 'Puşkaras'.

<sup>81. 27.61;</sup> the MS. 'ka' reads 'Tungaras'.

<sup>82.</sup> Mark. P., p. 349, 342, fn.

<sup>83. 27.56;</sup> the MS. 'kha' reads Sravaras.

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Satadruhas: They are the people who dwelt along the river Sutlej. The Vāyu reads Sakas and Hradas and the Matsya reads Saka and Druhyus instead. The Br. P. mentions them as belonging to the north with other tribes. See 'Aparantas'.

Saurāṣṭras: The Saurāṣṭras as a tribe must have existed as early as the time of the epics. The Rāmāyaṇa, (Kiṣkindhā kāṇḍa XLI), Mahābhārata (Virāṭa P. Ch. 1, 12), Viṣṇupurāṇa (II.III.132-5), Mārkaṇḍeya P. (57.52) locate them in the west, and the Brahma Purāṇa associates them with the Aparāntas, Śūdras, Ābhīras, and Mālavas and describes them as dwelling in the Pāriyātra mountains (19.17).

Sauvīras: The Mārk. P. (LVII, 36; LVIII, 30) places them in the north, but the Viṣṇu P. (II.III.133) places them in the extreme west, the Br. P. points out the intimate relation of the Sauvīras with the Sivis. The Sauvīras are descended from Suvīra, one of the four sons of Sivi Ausīnara. Sivi and his sons are said to have founded the kingdoms of the Sivis, Vṛṣadarbhas, Madras, Kekayas and Sauvīras, thus occupying the whole of the Punjab except the north-western corner. The Br. P. once mentions them with Saindhavas and Sakalas (19.18) and elsewhere places them in the north along with other tribes (27.45). See Aparāntas.

Sindhus: The Br. P. once separates them from Sauvīras (19.18) and elsewhere mentions them together with other tribes as occupying the north (27.45). See Aparāntas.

Snehis: They belong to Kuśadvīpa and correspond to the Vaiśya class. 86

Sūdras: The Sūdras as a tribe, distinct from the fourth caste, seem to have played some part in ancient Indian history and are several times mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Purāṇas and in the accounts of the Greek geographers and historians.<sup>87</sup>

According to the Mārk. P. they were located in the western region with the Vāhlīkas, Vātadhānas, Ābhīras, Pallavas, etc. (57.35). The Br. P. also places them in the west and associates them with the Saurāstras, Ābhīras, Arbudas, Mālavas, etc. (19.17).

<sup>84. 27.46,</sup> the MS. 'ka' reads Satadurgas and the MS. kha' reads Satadrukas.

<sup>85. 13.24-27;</sup> Pargiter, AIHT, pp. 109, 264.

<sup>86. 20.39;</sup> the MS. 'kha' reads Sandyas.

<sup>87.</sup> Law B.C., op. cit. p. 350.

Elsewhere the Br. P. places them in the north along with other tribes (27.45). See Aparantas.

Suhmas: The Br. P. states that they were so called after

Suhma, one of the sons of Bali (13.31, 32).

Sūlikas: The Br. P. mentions them along with other tribes as belonging to the north India (27.50). The Mark. P. (LVII. 40.41) also places them in the north and separates them from cūlikas.

Sunašokas: They are mentioned along with other tribes as

belonging to the northern region (27.49). See Aparantas.

Śūrasenas: The Br. P. mentions them along with Pañcālas, Matsyas, Madras, Kekayas, Bāhlīkas, Kasmīras, Tanganas, Khasas, Parvatīyas, Kirātas, Karņaprāvaraņas, Marus

Antyajas (54.12).

Śūrpārakas: All the purāņas place them in the west. They are the natives of Sopara which is identified as a place near the coast; in the Bassein tāluka of the Thana district, 30 miles north of Bombay.88 The Br. P. mentions them with Kālidhānas, Lohas and Talakatas as occupying the west (27.58).

Susmins: They belonged to Kuśadvīpa and corresponded to

Śūdra class (20.39).

Sūtas: They were created from the famous king Prthu and were experts in singing the eulogies of king (2.25). They are associated with the Magadhas and the Anupadesa was assigned to them (4.67).

Sutīras: They are mentioned along with other tribes as belong-

ing to the north (27.44). See Aparantas.

Tālaianghas: They form one of the five branches, viz. Vītihotras, Bhojas, Avantis, Tuņķikaras and Tālajanghas, of the Haihaya.89 The hundred sons of Talajangha, the son of Jayadhvaja, were called Tālajanghas (13.202). The king Sagara defeated Tālajanghas along with others (8.29). See Kambojas.

Tālakaṭas: The Br. P. locates them in the west along with

Sūrpārakas, Kālidhānas, and Lohas (27.59).

Tamraliptakas: The Br. P. mentions them along with others as occupying the eastern country (27.53). See Andhrakas.

<sup>88.</sup> Chaudhari S.B., op. cit., p. 148.

**<sup>89.</sup>** 13.202; cf. also *Matsya* 43. 48-9. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Tanganas: The Br. P. once mentions them as a hill-tribe along with others (27.63). See Citramārgas. and elsewhere along with Pañcālas, Matsyas, Madras, Kekayas, Bāhlīkas, associatos Kaśmīras, Khasas, Parvatīyas, Kirātas Karņaprāvaraņas Marus and Antyajas (54.12).

Tomaras: The Br. P. once mentions them with other tribes as belonging to north (27.50). See Aparantas, and elsewhere includes them in the hill-tribes along with others (27.64). See Citramārgas.

Toşalas: The Br. P. associates them with other tribes as

belonging to the Vindhya region.90 See Bhojas.

Traipuras: The Traipuras are the people of Tripuri or Tripura which was both a city and a country. It was the capital of the Cedi kingdom. It was a well known city that derived its name from three cities of Tripura once in possession of Asuras. 1 It roughly corresponded to the modern Jabalpur region which was the ancient Cedi country.92 The Br. P. places them in the Vindhya region along with other tribes (27.60). See Bhojas.

Tumburas: They are associated with other tribes as belong-

ing to the Vindhya region (27.61). See Bhojas.

Tusamārgas: They are associated with others as a hill-tribe

(27.63). See Citramārgas.

Tuṣāras: They are grouped in the Mārk. P. along with the Kambojas, Daradas, Barbaras and Cīnas all of whom are described as races of men outside (LVII 39). The Harivamśa classes them with the tribes branded as mlechhas and dasyus.

They are mentioned along with the other tribes as occupying

the northern region (22.48). See Aparantas.

Urnas: Urna is a celebrated country to the west of Indus.93 The Br. P. mentions them along with others as a hill-tribe (27.63). See Citramārgas.

Uttamārņas: They are mentioned along with other tribes as

occupying the Vindhya region (27.60). See Bhojas.

90. 27,60; the MS; 'ka' reads Ullāpas and the MS. kha' reads Apalas Chaudhari S.B., op. cit., p. 91 n. 5.

91. Mbh. Sabhāpārvan (Cr. Ed.) 2.28.38; Karņaparvan (Cr. Ed. 8.24.27, 116-119.

92. Law B C., op. cit., p. 399.

93. Chaudhari S.B., op. cit., p. 91 n. 5.

Vāhīkaras: They are mentioned along with others tribes as people belonging to north. See Aparāntas.

Vaidarbhas: The Mārk. P. places them with the other tribes as situated in south.<sup>95</sup> The Br. P. also places them with other tribes in south. (27.56).

Vaidišas: The Br. P. mentions them as people belonging to the Vindhya region (27.60). See Bhojas.

Vaišikyas; The Mārk. P. (LVII, 46-7) places them in the south along with the Mahārāṣṭras. Mahīsakas, Ābhīras, Kalingas, Šavaras, Pulindas and others. The Br. P. also mentions them in south along with other tribes. See Ābhīras.

Vaišyas: The Br. P. locates them in the north (27.47). See Aparantas.

Vallakas: The Br. P. mentions them along with other tribes as belonging to the eastern region. See Andhrakas.

Vāmaņkuras: The Br. P. associates them with others as belonging to the eastern country. 98 See Andhrakas.

Vangas: They were so-called after Vanga, one of the sons of king Bali. They are mentioned with other tribes as occupying the east (27.52). See Andhrakas. They are also mentioned along with Angas, Kalingas, Kaśmīras, and Kośalas as dwelling in the Rṣika mountain (230.70).

Vātadhānas: The Br. P. groups them along with other tribes as belonging to the north. The Mārk. P. (LVII,44) also places them once in the north along with Sividas, Daśerakas, Śavadhanās, Puṣkalas and Kirātas etc.

Videhas: The Br. P. associates them with others as belonging to the east (27.53). See Andhrakas.

Vīras: The Br. P. associates them with other tribes as belonging to the north (27.48).

94. 27.44; the MS. 'ka' reads Vādhikas.

95. 57,45, 8; cf. also Matsya 114.46.8; Vāyu 45.126.

96. 27.56; the MS. ka' reads Vaisikas.

97. 27.51; the MS. kha' reads Kaśmīras instead.

98. 27.51; the MS. kha' reads Muhūkāras.

99. 13.31, 32; Vāyu 99.26-34, 47-97; Brahmāṇḍa III. 74, 25-34, 47-100; Matsya 48, 23-9, 43-89; Bhāg., 1X, 23.5.

100. 27.44, the MS. 'ka, reads Anadhānyas.

Vivisvas: They belonged to Plakşadvīpa and corresponded to the vaisya class. 101

Vrkas: The Br. P. also places them in the Madhyadeśa

along with other tribes. 103 See Andhrakas.

Vṛṣadarbhas: They were so-called after Vṛṣadarbha, one of the five sons of king Sibi Auśīnara. 103

Vṛṣṇis: Mathurā was the home of Vṛṣṇis and Andhakas.

They left Mathurā and established their capital at Dvāravatī. 104

Yādavas: They dwelt in the north-eastern Gujarat and descended originally from Yadu (13.213).

Yavanas: The Br. P. mentions them once as occupying the north along with other tribes (27.45). See Aparantas and at another place they are mentioned with others as belonging to Vindhya region (27.61). See Bhojas.

<sup>101. 20.17,</sup> the MS. 'ka' reads Vivisas.

<sup>102. 27.42;</sup> the MS. 'ka' reads Vṛṣas.103. 13.26; cf. also AIHT, p. 264.

<sup>104</sup> Cd4.54; cf. Starivansh, St

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# PART III RELIGION

### BELIEFS

THE BELIEF SYSTEM of the epic-puranic Hindus was dominated by stories about gods, goddesses, demons and sages. These stories embodied beliefs about cosmic principles, norms of inter-personal and inter-group relationships, rules of personal conduct, and above all, the interdependence of the profane and the sacred in each owing its existence to the other. Hence we have descriptions of demonic gods and godly demons, and of the human fallibility of the sages. The contents and emphases of these stories also changed with the changes in environments to the point of introducing contradictions in the messages they purported to convey. Noticeable in these changes, however, is the increasing complexity of the belief system which incorporates ever new groups and ideas into the social order and Wellanchaung of the Hindus. These beliefs centring around the gods and goddesses, the demons and the sages, will be our subject in this chapter.

#### **GODS**

Vedic religion was based upon nature-worship. The god was hardly differentiated from physical phenomena. Thus we see the Dyaus, as the broad bright sky; the Maruts, the deities of the storm; Indra, the god of the rain-cloud, who later became the mighty warrior; and Agni the god of fire, later getting an individual and concrete existence.

Lack of individuality is a conspicuous feature in the Vedic gods. Thus dawn, sun, fire, have the common features of being luminous and dispelling darkness. Apart from this, certain essential traits like brilliance, power, beneficence are attributed to all gods in common and these common features tend to obscure CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shashi Contents, New Deline Digitized by S. Foundation USA

what is distinctive in each god and lead to the confusion of one god what is distinctive in what is distinctive in with another. Thus praying to lord Agni, the seer identifies him with Varuna, Mitra, Indra and others (Rv. 5.3). This poses a linguistic problem as to whether these various "names" were used as terms for describing attributes of nature or were in fact names for concrete personified natural phenomena. The tendency towards personifications, however, can be seen in the later hymns, as in the nature of Aditi, the immensity; in Prajāpati, the lord of creatures, in Hiranyagarbha, the golden germ.

In the period of the brahmanas, a ceremonial type of worship was developed and a growing insistence or rigorous precision in the observance of niceties of rites and sacrifices marked the epoch, In the āranyakas, the hermits, believed themselves capable of superseding the gods and of obtaining from them any gift at will by the practice of intense meditation and prolonged self-mortification. The line of thought on nature and being, of god in the upanisads as opposed to the brahmanas is speculative and mystical and the great systems of Indian philosophy carry forward and develop it.

The importance of the great epic poems and the Puranas of India for the history of religious thought and its bearing upon the Hindu conception of god is very great as they are the popular possessions of the inhabitants of every village and town, and the centres of pilgrimage. The names of their heroes and heroines are on the tongue of every Indian. The trend of this literature is towards a rich polytheism, but by the time of the Epics and the Purāņas, the phenomenal side of the gods was greatly obscured. Anthropomorphism was carried to such length that even the sun and the moon were clothed in human dress, speech and action.

In the pantheon of the Br. P. there are various categories of gods. Some gods such as Visnu and Siva are of primary importance. The god Sūrya occupies an independent section. Brahmā is the narrator of the Purana and the Purana takes its name after him. The gods Indra, Yama, Agni are of secondary importance and the gods Dattātreya, Gaņeśa, Soma, Varuņa, and Kārtikeya occupy a lower position. In fact, Varna categories are ascribed to gods.

There can be no limit to the pantheon when constantly new images evoke new personifications. Thus Manyu is anger personified fied and Kāmadeva is the feeling of love incarnate.

CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA Sometimes small gods were created by greater gods, through a purely physiological process. Thus vara was created out of the perspirphysiological planes body, and the matrs were the creation of lord siva's perspiration. Semi-divine beings like the yaksas, the siddhas, the gandharvas, the kinnaras and others are always mentioned in connection with some primary deity. Among the goddesses, Parvatī is described at length in association with Lord Siva, and there are stray references to Aditi, Laksmī and Saraswatī. The Brahma Purāna lays special emphasis on the worship of Subhadrā with Lord Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. It does not mention Rādhā. The outstanding feature of the mythology of this Purāna is that it presents a long eulogy of the river Godāvarī, deifies it and describes its miraculous powers. Worship is extended to the Nyagrodha tree and it is identified with Lord Vișnu. The pitrs are also deified and worshipped. On the whole, it seems that while some Vedic gods are mentioned and eulogized as required by convention, the Br. P. like other Purānas, has extended its pantheon to include the non-brahminic (or non-āryan) forms ascribed to the Vedic pantheistic forms of worship.

In the Br. P. the gods are described as human beings who have attained highest virtue and glory. They are versed in the sastras and know the way to attain moksa and meditate on the highest principle. They are parivrads, who practise yoga and meditate on the Veda (51.18-21). Their abode is the golden peak of the mountain Meru, which is also inhabited by the siddhas, vidyādharas, yakṣas, gaṇas of gods, sages, guhyakas, suparṇas, maruts, sādhus, kasyapas, prajesvaras, vālakhilyas and others (45.5-7). The function of these semi-divine beings is either that of praying to the lord or of showering flowers, blowing the conch, serving the Lord and protecting the sacrifice (108.19-20). When not directly interested in the human affairs to the point of descending to the earth, either to partake of a sacrifice or to intervene in worldly matters, the gods reside in sky in courts of their own 'on top of the sky', in the third heaven or gather at the halls of their colleagues.

Besides gods, the Br. P. deals with demons, powerful characters who are regarded as enemies of gods and men. It also narrates the stories of sages who helped kings and gods in the

performance of sacrifice and various other matters, and thereby

#### VISNU

In the Rgveda, Visnu occupies a subordinate position and his only anthropomorphic traits are the strides, which, as a solar god, he takes across the heavens. He traverses the three worlds in three strides referring probably to the sun in the heavens through the three stages of rising, culminating and setting, or the three steps with which he encompasses the universe. This trait of Vedic Vișņu was later on symbolized in his incarnation as Vāmana, who asked for land from Bali to be covered in these strides. In the brahmanas, the position of Visnu remains much the same; he is regarded as equal to the other gods, not their superior. In the older portions of the Mahābhārata, Viṣṇu is little more than a hero; in others he is represented as paying homage to Siva. In the latest portions of the poem, he is regarded as the most exalted deity. In the Rāmāyana and the Vaisnava Purānas, he is exalted to be the supreme spirit. The Brahma Purāņa is chiefly a Vaiṣṇava Purāṇa and exalts Visnu as the supreme deity, though it assigns a high rank to Lord Siva also. At one point it takes the view that really speaking there is no distinction between Lord Vișnu and Lord Siva and that they are two aspects of one and the same divinity (56.64-72). In any case, the most interesting fact about the Vișnu of the Puranas, is his identification with Kṛṣṇa, who probably represented the ascendence of the non-Vedic and non-Āryan gods, in the Hindu pantheon.

Vișņu, in the Brahma Purāņa, is described as having a thousand heads (45.40; 213.12) and a thousand eyes (45.41, 128.155, 213.12). The eyes are compared to the lotus (68.28, 178.29). They are wide like the lotus-leaf (178 123) and perhaps as a result he shines like the lightning (68.53). He has a thousand mouths (213.12), a thousand tongues (213.13) and a thousand hands (213.12). He is also said to have four hands (45.65; 68.30). He has a sign of śrīvatsa on his chest (45.41; 64; 68.31; 178.24). Srīvatsa is a particular curl of hair on the breast indicating the status of a cakravartin, the 'universal soverign', or mahāpuruşa. This sign is generally associated with Kṛṣṇa, which is ascribed to Vişnu, as the former is considered an incarnation of the latter. The CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by 33 formula latter.

explanation of the sign is given as 'Śrī's favourite abode'. His complexion is blue like the petal of a blue lotus (45.62). He is also called Śyāma (68.44). His majesty is like that of a cloud full of water (45.41) and he is compared to an atasī flower (178.121). Thus, again, it seems, Viṣṇu in Br. P. has taken on the complexion and characteristics of Kṛṣṇa.

He wears yellow clothes (45.65, 68.44, 178.124) and decorates himself with vanamālā, hāra, keyūra, mukuṭa and aṅgada (42.65; 68.30; 178.123-124). He applies divine candana to his body (178.125). All these are the favourite vastrābhūṣaṇas of Kṛṣṇa.

He wields the śańkha, the cakra and the gadā (45.65). His Sudarśana cakra is very powerful and is his main weapon. Its whiteness is like that of the kuńda flower, the moon, the milk of the cow (68.45, 46). His Śāraṅga bow has the lustre of the sun and the arrows are like its rays (68.49, 50). He is well-versed in all the śāstras (68.21) and bears Saraswatī on his tongue (122.71).

Attributes: Elsewhere it is said that agni is his mouth, ksiti his feet, the sun and the moon are his eyes, the sky together with its directions is his ears and body, heaven is his head, the directions are his eyes, vayu is his mind, the waters are his perspiration (56.16, 17), stars, the pores of his skin; the oceans abound in the jewels his clothes, bed and abode (56.27-29). Again it is said that the brahmanas are his mouth, the kşatriyas his hands, the vaisyas his thighs and the śūdras are his feet (56.22, 23). He is also called Bahubāhū, Urūpāda, Bahukarņa and Akşiśiraska (122.72). He is frequently called Nārāyaņa (56.12, 60.25), because water is his abode. Nārāyana is an ancient and dignified epithet which has been used for various Hindu gods. It is not the name of any distinct Hindu divinity. The world is believed to be a patronymic, derived from 'nara', (man), so that it means 'son of man', but it is not known for whom it was originally used.1 The Rv. (X.490) the Satapathabrāhmaņa, (XII.III.4.1), (XI II.VI.I.1) (2.12); the Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra, (XXIV.VII.36) and the Mahānārāyana Upaniṣad (11.IX.1) relate the word Nārayana with puruşa and at a much later date, in the Taittiriya Samhitā of the black Yajurveda (vii.1.5.1) it was suggested that the word was derived from nārāḥ (the waters for they are sprung from nara)

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and ayana (moving). As in Greek thought, that the world has arisen from waters is one of the earliest theories of the Hindus as well, and therefore most Hindu writers preferred this secondary derivation of the word, (cf. Manu. 1. 8-10), and the Br. P. also follows the same line of throught. He resides in the Kṣīrasāgara (45.60, 126.24) and he sleeps on the serpent Śeṣa (45.60). Lord Viṣṇu is also called Hari, Śaṅkara, Vasudeva, Deva, and Kṛṣṇa (8.65), Govinda, Madhusūdana, Srīdhara, Keśava, Mādhava, Vāmana, Varāha, and Trivikrama (60.39-41; 61.14, 15, 39,40).

Philosophical Epithets: Some philosophical epithets are ascribed to Vişnu. Thus he is called Avyakta, Süddha, Nitya, Sadaikarūparūpa, Sarvajisņu, Paramātman, Hiraņyagarbha, gross as well as subtle, ajara, amara, akṣaya, avyaya, one as well as manv sarvajūa (1.21-27), sat as well as asat (23.42), nirguņa, śānta. sanātana (45.61-63), kūţaştha acala, devoid of bhāva and abhāva. all-pervading, beyond prakṛṭi (45.66, 67), the ātman of all. omnipresent, endless, brahmarupa, urukrama, and the one controlling the wheel of time (56.43,44). He is known from the Vedas (126.25). He is higher than pradhana, buddhi and the senses (181.22). He is avyākrta-mūla-prakrti and the vyākrta world (23.43). He is acyuta (122.70) and is called Bhūtapāvyakta. bhūtakrt, bhūtabhrd and bhūtabhāvana (178.133, 135). also called kşetrajña, kşetrabhrt, kşetrī, kşetrahā, kşetrakrd, ksetrātman, ksetrarohita, kşetrasṛṣṭā (178.135). He is also called guņālaya, guņāvāsa, guņāśraya, guņavāha, guņabhoktr, guņārāma, and guņatyāgi (178.136). He is rk, yajus, and sāman (178.143). He is day, night, vatsara, kāla, kasthā, māhūrta, ksaņa, lava (178.145, 146), etc. He is called jagadbīja, jagaddhāma, jagatśākşi (178.128) and jagatpati (68.28). The historically important fact here is that he is lauded with the Vedanta epithets, as in the Bhagwad Gita.

Various Forms: In different continents, he is worshipped in different forms. Thus it is said that in the Plakṣadvīpa, he is worshipped in the form of Soma (20.19), in Śālmaladvīpa in the form of Vāyu (20.32), in the Kuśadvīpa in the form of Brahmā (20.40), in Krauñcadvīpa in the form of Rudra (20.57) and in the Śākadvīpa in the form of Sun (20.72). So too his dharma is said to possess different colours in the different yugas. Thus it is said that his dharma becomes white in the Krtayuga, śyāmaizinby the Tretāyuga,

red in the Dvaparayuga and Kṛṣṇa in the Kaliyuga (56,40,41). Desire, anger, joy, fear and attachment are his other forms (56.29, 30). He has a sacrificial form which is lauded at great length. It consists of savana, hotā, havya, pavitraka, vedi, dīkṣā, samidh, sruvā, sruk, soma, sūpa, mūsala, prokṣaṇi, daksināyana, adhavaryu, a brāhmin knowing the recitation of sāmans, sadasya, sadana, sabhā. yūpa, cakra, dhruva, darvi, caru, ulūkhala, prāgvamsa, yajnabhūmi, sthandla, kuśa, mantra, sacrificial share, somabhokta and hutārci and he is called agrāsanabhoji. The constant identification of Vișnu with the sacrifice is a special feature of the brāmaņas. Elsewhere it is said that Lord Visnu has four forms. The first is known by the name Vasudeva. It is near as well as far and has a white complexion. It is always pure. Its nature is indescribable. The second form called Sesa which is the tamasa form of Lord Visnu holding the earth upon his head. The third form arising out of the sattva quality of Lord Vișnu, maintains the world, establishes dharma, destroys the demons and protects the gods. The fourth form lies in the ocean on a big serpent and remains engrossed in creating the world. Rajas is his main quality (180.18-24).

Functions: The primary function of Lord Vișnu is the maintenance of the world but it is said that he created Brahmā whose primary function is the creation of the world. Thus it is said that when at the beginning of a kalpa, all the moving and non-moving beings were destroyed, when the gods, gandharvas, daityas, vidyādharas and uragas were absorbed in darkness, when nothing was distinguishable on account of all-pervading darkness, Lord Vișnu created Lord Brahmā from his navel-lotus at the end of his yoganidrā (45.26-30,213.28,29). It is again said that Viṣṇu created water from which a golden egg came out and out of it, Brahmā emerged (I.38-40). This conception seems to have arisen from the ancient belief of the one primordial being resting on or emanating from the primeval waters, where Hiranyagarbha, identified with Prajāpati and, in later times, with Brahmā, is said to have arisen in the beginning from the great water which pervaded the universe (Rv. 10.121,129;826). According to the popular Indian belief the god Vişņu goes to sleep for a period of four months on the eleventh day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha but the Br. P. states that Lord Visnu goes to sleep for a thousand years and at the end of

that he manifests himself in order to perform his functions (213.24. 25). At the end of the kalpa, all beings together with Lord Brahmā merge in Lord Viṣṇu (I.60, 62). Lord Viṣṇu helps prakṛti and puruṣa in retaining their relationship. The power of Lord Viṣṇu forms the pradhāna and the puruṣa, the source of their equilibrium which is disturbed at the time of creation. (23.29,32).

#### Visnu and other Gods

After having been Indra's assistant and younger brother and playing a secondary role to the mighty god who fights Vrtra in the Vedas Visnu emerges as the most powerful god of the epic period,2 being called the god who is above Indra-Atindra. The Br.P. provides many references when Indra being afraid of his enemies approaches Lord Visnu for protection (adhs. 19,71,73). Vișnu also killed the demon Sardula and brought back Suvarna, the daughter of Lord Siva, whom the demon had carried away (129. 64-69). The demon Sambara, a sort of replica of Vrtra, who in the Rv. is vanquished by Indra,3 is said to be killed by Visnu in the Br.P. (134, 10-13). Indra worships Visnu, and Siva prays to him when confronted by doubts regarding his frequent dethronement (122.68-88). Lord Visnu kills the demon Mahāśani when Indra requests him to do so (129.94-100). Again it is said that Indra obtained the kingdom of the three worlds by praying to Lord Visnu, and therefore Lord Visnu was called Govinda according to the Etymology: Indram gām Avindayat (122.95-97).

The relation of Lord Viṣṇu with Siva is very significant. Though Viṣṇu is considered to be the supreme god, he is said to worship Lord Siva. Thus Viṣṇu is said to have received back his cakra which was swallowed by Vīrabhadra, an attendant of Lord Siva, by praying to Lord Siva (122.95-97).

The Br. P. relates an interesting anecdote about the quarrel between Brahmā and Viṣṇu regarding their relative superiority. It states that when they were quarreling a Śivá-linga rose between the two and the divine speech declared that whosoever finds out its end, would be considered superior to the other. Both of them

2. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 140, 204 etc.

Macdonell, Vedic mythology, p. 161; Rv. 7.99.5—he is defeated by Indra and Visnu.

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were unable to find out the end, and thereupon Viṣṇu declared his ignorance, but Brahmā spoke a lie with his fifth head and he was cursed by Lord Siva (a.135). Once it is said that lord Indra and others practice penance out of fear for him (109.41,42).

#### Incarnations

The theory of incarnation presupposes the recognition of Viṣṇu as a Supreme God, the creator and the ruler of the universe, the upholder not only of the cosmic, but also of the moral order of the world. When the enemies to this rule endanger the order of the world, the God incarnates himself for the purpose of defending it. Thus the Br. P. says: 'Whenever there is a decline of law and an increase of iniquity, then I put forth myself in a new birth.

Originally, therefore, the number of these appearances was regarded indefinite and the Br. P. goes to the extent of saying that there were 1,000 incarnations of Lord Viṣṇu (213.20) but theological speculation tended to fix the number of incarnations and also to define more clearly their relation to the laws of natural evolution. Thus after making the statement regarding the 1000 incarnations, the Br. P. starts with Lord Brahmā as a manifestation of Lord Viṣṇu (213.31) and continues to mention Varāha, Narsiṃha, Vāmana, Dattātreya, Jāmadagnya, Rāma, Keśava and Kalki which is now to come, as incarnations (a. 213). It is noteworthy that in this place the incarnations are called prādurbhāva or 'manifestation' and not avatāra, though at another (180.39), they are called the avatāra, which has become the current term.

The Br. P. also mentions the following incarnations: Matsya,<sup>6</sup> Kūrma,<sup>7</sup> Varāha,<sup>8</sup> Nṛṣiṃha,<sup>9</sup> Vāmana.<sup>10</sup> Dattātreya, (180.27-32;

- 4. ERE, Vol. 7, p. 193.
- yadā yadā hi dharmasya glānirbhavati sattama,
   Abhyutthānamadharmasya tadātmānam srjāmyaham,
   56.35, 36; for a slightly different reading vide 180.26, 27.
- 6. 60.2; 18.57, 58; 61.24; 71.11. 122.68, 69; 147, 163.28-30, 179, 18, 20; 180.27-32; 184.16; 213.76-79.
- 7. 18.57, 58, 71.11; 122.68, 69; 163.28, 30; 178,173-175; 184.16.
- 8. 18.57, 58, 61.24; 71.11; 122.68, 69; 163.28-30; 178.173-175; 179.18, 20; 180. 27-32; 184.16; 102.23; 213.32-42.
- 9. 58.4-5; 61.24; 122.68, 69; A. 147; 163.28-30; 179.18-20, 180.27-32; 184.16; 213.76-79.
- **10. 61.24, 73.22, 122.68-69; 184.16; 213.80-106.**CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

203.106-112), Paraśurāma, (180.27, 312; 213.113-122), Rāma, 11 Kṛṣṇa (180.213), Kalkin<sup>12</sup> and some others like Seşa, (56,20) Hayasirās, 18 Puşkara, (213.31), and Buddha (122.65,69). Further it states that in the different varsas, Vişnu is worshipped in different forms. Thus in the Bhadrāśvavarṣa, he is worshipped as Hayasiras, in Ketumāla as Varāha, in Bhārata as Kūrma, in Kurupradeśa as Matsya, and in the form Viśvarūpa, he is worshipped everywhere (18.57-58).

The Br. P. deals at length with some of the incarnations and

the descriptions are worth noting:

Matsya: The fish which in the Satapatha Brāhmaņa (I.8.1.1) delivers Manu from the flood appears in the Mahābharata (III.187) as a form of Prajapati, becoming in the Puranas an incarnation of Visnu. The Br. P. states that Matsya was the first incarnation of Lord Visnu, and when he took this incarnation, he was known as Matsyamādhava (60.1-2).

Kūrma: In the Satapatha Brāhmana (7.5.1.5 cf. TA 1.23.3) Prajapati about to create offspring turns into a tortoise moving in primeval waters and, in the Puranas, this tortoise is an avatara of Visnu who assumes this form to recover various objects lost in a deluge. The Br. P. does not provide a detailed description of this incarnation.

Varāha: The myth of the Varāha incarnation can be traced to Vedic literature. It says that Vişnu having drunk Soma and on the suggestion of Indra, having carried off a hundred buffaloes and a brew of milk belonging to the boar, left Indra flying across the mountain to slay the fierce boar, (RV. 1.61-7; 8.66.10). This story is developed in the Taittirīriya Samhitā (TS 6,2.4.23). Satapatha Brāhmaņa (I.4.1.2.4) and the Taittirīya Brāhmaņa (II.1.3.5). In the post-Vedic mythology of the Rāmāyaņa and the Purāṇas, the boar which raises the earth has become one of the avatāras of Viṣṇu.<sup>14</sup> In the Rāmāyaṇa,<sup>15</sup> Brahmā, not Viṣṇu, is represented as taking the form of the boar.

<sup>11. 122.68, 69; 180.27, 32; 213,124-158.</sup> 

<sup>12. 122.68, 69; 213.164-168;</sup> 

<sup>13. 8.57, 58; 122.68, 69.</sup> 

<sup>14.</sup> Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 41.

<sup>15.</sup> II.110, Hopkins, op. cit., p. 147.

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The Br. P. states that this incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu is Vedapradhāna and is in the nature of a sacrifice. The Varāha form having a thousand hands entered the ocean, and held the whole earth in his jaws and saved it from disaster (213.32-42; 180.27-32; 56.20). Narakāsura was born to Pṛthvī when Lord Viṣṇu touched her in the Varāha incarnation. Narakāsura was afterwards killed by Lord Viṣṇu in his incarnation as Lord Kṛṣṇa (202.23-25). Elsewhere it is stated that Viṣṇu brought out the pitṛs from the river Kokā in his Varāha incarnation (a.219). When the demon Sindhusena carried away the sacrifice to Rasātala, Lord Viṣṇu took the form of Varāha and brought back the sacrifice to the earth (79.8—16). The reason for Viṣṇu's forms as a tortoise and a boar seems to be that his primitive worship had been of a theriomorphic character, at least with some class of people. 16

Nṛsimha: The incarnation of Narasimha, or the man-lion, stands by itself. It refers to a popular legend of Viṣṇu killing in the form of a man-lion, the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu—a legend which is alluded to once in the Vedic literature, i. e. Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (X. 1-6).

The Br. P. states that after the Varāha incarnation, Lord Viṣṇu assumed the shape of a creature half-man, half-lion, to deliver the world from the tyranny of a demon called Hiraṇyakaśipu. His colour, roar and lustre are like those of a dark cloud. When the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu became invincible, lord Nṛṣiṃha emerged from the pillars of his assembly-hall and killed him and all his retinue with his claws. He killed the daityas living in the Rasātala, sky, forests and at other places. His nails were stronger than the thunderbolt and there were long hair on his neck and face (56.20, 213.80-106).

Vāmana: The Vāmana incarnation's origin lies in a legend developed from a mythical feat of Viṣṇu, frequently mentioned in the Rv., regarding the three strides with which he measured the three worlds (Rv. 1.155.6). In the Aitereya Brāhmaņa (6.15) it is related that Viṣṇu and Indra, engaged in conflict with the Asuras, agreed with the latter that as much as Viṣṇu could stride over in three steps should belong to the two deities. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (1.2.5) refers to the dwarf form of Viṣṇu. This Brāhmaṇa story

<sup>16.</sup> ERE, Vol. 7, p. 193.

forms the transition to the myth of Vişnu's dwarf incarnation in the post-Vedic literature.<sup>17</sup>

Dattātreya: The reference to Dattātreya as an incarnation comes down from the epic period. The Br. P. states that Lord Viṣṇu took the Dattātreya incarnation as a son of the sage Atri (180.31), at a time when the Vedas were destroyed, sacrifices neglected, the four castes were intermingled, righteousness had waned and truth had disappeared. He brought the atmosphere of righteousness together with the Vedas, religious rites and sacrifices and He brought the four castes in their proper order. On Kārtavīrya Arjuna he conferred the rule of the whole earth. (213.106-112).

In some parts of India, a saint Dattatreya is worshipped as uniting the Hindu Trinity in himself.<sup>18</sup>

Parasurāma: The story of Parasurāma, as told in the Mahābhārata (III. 115: XII-49) has no reference to Vişnu, but the first book of the Rāmāvana, which is a later addition to the epic, contains a continuation of his story. According to it the hero was in possession of Visnu's bow and met the young Rama, son of Dasaratha, expressly to subdue him; but the latter, who had already broken Siva's bow, now bent Vişnu's bow and deprived Parasurama of his victory. This legened, apparantly a late invention, would be absurd on the supposition that both are incarnat ons of Visnu. The Br. P. clearly distinguishes the incarnation of Visnu as Parasurāma from that of Dāsara hī Rāma. It states that in this incarnation, Lord Visnu was born as the son of the sage Jamadagni and is a descendant of Bhrgu. He cut off the thousand hands of Kartavirya Arjuna and cleared the earth twenty-one times of the kşatriya class. In order to expiate his sins, he perforned a horse-sacrifice and gave much daksina and he gave the whole earth together with elephants, horses and chariots to the sage Kasyapa. Even at present, he practises severe penance on the mountain Mahendra, for the welfare of the world.19 It seems proper to conclude that the origin of this incarnation lies in the

<sup>17.</sup> Macdonell, op. cit., p. 41.

<sup>18.</sup> Monier Williams, Indian Wisdom, p. 327, f.n.; vide. 'Dattatreya' by Joshi, H.S., Baroda.

<sup>19. 213.113-122;</sup> also cf. Vanaparva 11071, Śānti 1707, Ādi 272-280, Udyoga 7142.

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idea of restraining the kşatriyas in their ambition or attempts at overpowering the brāhmanical caste.

Rāma: Rāma as an incarnation of Vișnu seems to be a later addition. In the original parts of Rāmāyaṇa, viz; (Bks. II to VI) the poet regards his hero as essentially human and seems entirely to ignore his divine character. But later his divinity is fully acknowledged in Bks. I and VII which by common agreement are later The Br. P. distinctly eulogizes Rāma as an incarnation of Vișnu. It states that in the twenty-fourth yuga Lord Visnu divided himself into four parts. In order to grace the world, to establish righteousness and to control the demons, Lord Visnu was born in the form of the four sons of Dasaratha. Rāma is described as Śyāma, young, having red eyes, brilliant, long-armed, strong, having a back as strong as that of a lion and mitabhāsī. His wife is Sītā who was Laksmī before her incarnation as Sitā. Rāma, Sītā and Laksmana went to the forest and practised penance for fourteen years. Residing in the Janasthana, he worked for the gods and killed Ravana and his army. He also killed he demons Vāli, Lavaņa, Mārīca, Subāhu, Virādha, Kabandha, and others. Rāma ruled the world for 10,000 years and the Br. P. gives a peaceful account of his reign, popularly known as Rāmarājya. After completing a hundred sacrifices, Rāma went to heaven. He was the jewel of Ikşvāku family (213.124-158).

Elsewhere he is glorified as a powerful hero but no mention is made of his being an incarnation of Viṣṇu. Thus it says that Rāma built a great bridge over the ocean, killed Ravaṇa, brought back Sīta and purified her with fire but owing to the slanders of some anāryas, he abandoned her near the hermitage of Vālmīki. Later when Rāma performed a horse-sacrifice, Lava and Kuśa, the sons of Rāma appeared there and sang the whole of the Rāmāyaṇa. Rāma blessed and embraced them. The monkeys, Sugrīva, Hanumān, Angada and the bear Jāmbvanta came there and all of them went to the river Godāvari and worshipped Siva (a.154). Elsewhere it is said that after reigning over the world for a long time, Rāma attained the status of Lord Viṣṇu (176.50).

Kṛṣṇa: During the Brāhmaṇa period, prajāpati, the creator, was believed to assume various forms like those of a boar and a tortoise in order to rescue creation in times of danger. After him came Nārāyaṇa and he was identified with Viṣṇu, the slayer of demons.

About the end of the Vedic period a popular deity, Vāsudeva, came to be acknowledged as a form of Viṣṇu. Now the race of the Yādavas, whose clans were settled both in the north and in the west of India, revered as their tribal hero, Kṛṣṇa, the son of Devakī, who had the reputation of having been an earnest seeker of religious truth. It may be assumed that about this time the worship of Vāsudeva as a form of Viṣṇu had become the popular religion of these tribal people and the worship of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa intermingled in such a way that Kṛṣṇa came to be believed as a manifestation of Viṣṇu—a human incarnation of the Supreme God.<sup>20</sup> Jacobi, states that the widespread worship of Kṛṣṇa as a tribal hero and demi-god, and his subsequent identification with Nārāyaṇa gave birth to the theory of incarnation and, therefore, the incarnation of Viṣṇu as Kṛṣṇa is the most significant to the theory of incarnation as such.<sup>21</sup>.

The Br. P. provides a myth which connects his incarnation bodily with Lord Viṣṇu. When Lord Viṣṇu was implored by the gods to save the earth from the oppression of her enemies, Nārāyaṇa plucked out two of his own hairs, a black one and a white one. Descending to the earth and entering the womb of Devakī, the black hair was born as Kṛṣṇa, and the white hair as Baladeva. It is to be noted that this myth makes Baladeva too an incarnation of Viṣṇu, whereas he is said to be an incarnation of Śeṣa, the snake-god (a. 181).

Buddha: The Br. P. does not provide us with a description of Buddha as an incarnation but just mentions his name in the list of incarnations.

Kalkin: This incarnation is yet to appear for the welfare of the World. He is to be born as Kalki by the name Viṣṇu-yaśas in the village Śambhala.<sup>22</sup>

Monier Williams<sup>23</sup> has rightly concluded, 'looking more closely' at the ten incarnations, 'We may observe that in the first

ibid., p. 196; vide also Walter Ruben, Krishna, Konkordanz und kummentar Der Motive seines Heldenlebens, Istanbul, 1943.

<sup>21.</sup> ERE, Vol. VIII, p. 196.

<sup>22. 213.164, 165;</sup> also cf. Vișņu p. IV. 24.

<sup>23.</sup> M. Williams, Indian Wisdom, p. 334 ff; cf. also Rāmānuja quoted in Edinborough Conference Report IV. p. 179 and T.E. Slater quoted in the Gods of India, p. 108 by B.Q. Martin, vide also Radhakrishnan's Kalki.

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three Visnu is supposed to be present in the body of animals, and in the fourth to take the form of being half animal half human; this last may be regarded as a kind of link, the object of which is to prevent too great abruptness in connecting the deity with the higher forms of worldly existence. From the mixed manifestation of half a lion, half a man, the transition is natural to that of a complete man. The divine essence passing into human forms commences with the smallest type of humanity, represented by a dwarf. Thence it rises to powerful sages and mighty heroes who deliver the world from the oppression of evil demons and tyrants whose power increases with the deterioration of mankind during the four ages....We see in all this the working of the Hindu idea of transmigration. Even in Manu's time, it was an accepted dogma that the souls of men, popularly regarded as emanations from deity, might descend into the bodies of animals, or rise to those of higher beings. It was therefore an easy expansion of such a doctrine to imagine the divine soul itself as passing through various stages of incarnation for the delivery of the world from the effects of evil and sin and for the maintenance of order in the whole cycle of creation.'

The Kṛṣṇa Legend: The Kṛṣṇa legend is central to the theogony of the Br. P. We shall, therefore, describe at some length the place of Kṛṣṇa in the mythology of Br. P.

According to traditional history as given in the Purāṇas, Kṛṣṇa belonged to the Sātvata sect of the Yādavas, who formed the lunar dynasty, and was 94th in descent from Manu.<sup>24</sup> However, some Purāṇas represent Kṛṣṇa as coming from the solar dynasty (cf. Harivamśa II 38.35). The Br. P. states that Kṛṣṇa belonged to the lunar race of the Vṛṣṇi family of the Yādavas (12.50, 196.23, 24). Thus both the solar and the lunar dynasties claimed Kṛṣṇa as their own.

In the Rv. (VIII. 85.3.4) Kauşītaki Brāhmaņa (XXX. 9) and Chāndogya Upaniṣad (III. 17.6) Kṛṣṇa is referred to as a Vedic seer, as a human personality. Pāṇini<sup>25</sup> indicates that Vāsudeva

Pāṇini IV.3.96; IV.3.98, Jacobi. ERE, VII, p. 195; Bhandarkar, Vaisnavism Salvism, and other sects p. 4; Raychaudhari EHAS, pp. 30-31.

Important books and papers on Kṛṣṇa problem, see Pusalkar, A.D., *Epic and Purānic Studies*. p. 49. Also, Milton Singer; Kṛṣṇa, Pargiter, *AIHT*, pp. 102-117; 144 ff.

and Arjuna, originally kşatriya heroes, were raised to the ranks of gods before his time and Patanjali<sup>26</sup> shows that they had attained divinity by his time. In the oldest nucleus of the Mbh. there are clear references to the human character of Kṛṣṇa. In the later portions, he is represented as a semi-divine being, whereas the parts of the epic that come still later, regard Kṛṣṇa as the Supreme God (Mbh. V.79.5-6). The Puranas also present various stages in the development of the Kṛṣṇa legend. Thus the Br. P. states that when Krsna performed wonderful deeds like Kālīyadamana Govardhanadhārana and the killing of Pralamba, in the form of a cowherd boy, the simple-minded villagers were perturbed and began to doubt about his human personality and said that such deeds were difficult to be performed even by the gods. He cannot merely be a simple mighty human being and that surely Kṛṣṇa was either a god or a danava or a yaksa or a gandharva; and Krsna, though representing an incarnation of Visnu, assures them that he was neither a god, nor a gandharva, nor a yakşa, nor a dānava. but their brother ( 89.2-12).

Among the Purāṇas, the Harivamśa, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Bhāgvata and Brahmavaivarta deal exhaustively with the life of Kṛṣṇa and the accounts in the different Purāṇas are not only inconsistent but mutually contradictory.

As regards the problem of identifying Vasudeva Kṛṣṇa with the Gopāla Kṛṣṇa, it should be stated that the Br. P. represents a stage when the legend about the cowherd Kṛṣṇa must have already been current and his identification with Vasudeva-Kṛṣṇa been effected. In the Nārāyaṇīya section of the Mbh, the avatāra of Vāsudeva is mentioned for the destruction of Kaṃsa but of none of the demons whom the cow-herd Kṛṣṇa killed in the cow-settlement, whereas in the statement of the Br.P. (181.8-12) the avatāra of Kṛṣṇa is meant to destroy all the demons that appeared in the cow-settlement as well as that of Kaṃsa. In this respect, the Br. P. is at par with the Harivamśa (vv. 58-76-5878) the Vāyu Purāṇa (98. vv. 100-102), and the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (II. 7).

As Kṛṣṇa's life in Gokula is not given in the Mahābhārata and in some earlier texts, some scholars take them to be later additions. Dhruva thinks the Puranic and Mahābhārata stories

<sup>26.</sup> Mahābhāşya on 2.3.36, 3.1,26 and 3.2.11.

of Kṛṣṇa to be a blending of poetic fancy and historical fact and seeks philosophical and symbolical explanations for most of the exploits of Kṛṣṇa in his childhood.<sup>27</sup> Some stories like the approach of Earth to the god and the promise of god to be born for her relief (a. 181), exaggerated accounts of some of the miraculous feats of the child Kṛṣṇa (a. 184-192), the fight between Indra and Kṛṣṇa for the Pārijāta tree (a. 203-204) etc. were evidently added after the deification of Kṛṣṇa was complete. Thus the accounts given in the Purāṇas constitute important landmarks for the development of the Kṛṣṇa myth and the evolution of the Vaiṣṇava religion.

## BALARAMA

Balarāma, a legendary hero of Br. P., only next to Kṛṣṇa in his exploits and power, is considered to be an incarnation of Seṣa Nāga, the mythical serpent who bears the earth on his head.

The serpent-cult is very ancient and is referred to in the Taittirīya Samhītā (IV. 2.8.3) Kāthaka Samhitā (16.15) and Vājasaneyī Samhītā (13.6-8). Fergusson<sup>28</sup> traces serpent worship in the nations of antiquity, such as Egypt, Judea, Greece etc. It occurs very frequently in the Mbh.29 The Puranas are full of the descriptions of shrines of serpents and the Br. P. states that snakes are the sons of Kasyapa and Surasa and Kadru. Surasa gave birth to a thousand serpents-sarpas, and Kadru gave birth to a thousand nāgas, the chief of whom were Seşa, Vāsuki, Takşaka, Airāvata, Mahāpadma, Kambala, Aśvatara, Elāpatra, Śankha, Karkotaka, Dhanañjaya, Mahānīla, Mahākarņa, Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Balahaka, Kuhara, Puspadamstra, Durmukha, Sumukha, Sankhapala, Kapila, Vāmana, Nahusa, Śankharomā, Maņi and a thousand others (3.96-101). Garuda is their enemy (a. 90) and devours them whence it has been interpreted that the Nagas represent darkness which is dispelled by Sun. When Brahmā divided the kingdom, he made Vāsuki, the king of Nāgas and Takṣaka, the king of serpents (4.7). Serpent worship continues to this day particularly in south India, and serpents are worshipped on the fifth of the bright half of Śrāvaņa called Nāgapanchamī, India possesses many

<sup>27.</sup> Dhruva A.B., Apāņo Dharma, pp. 752 ff.

<sup>28.</sup> Tree and Serpent worship (1868).

<sup>29.</sup> Ādi 35, 123.71; Udyoga 103, 9-16; Anuśāsana 150.41.

more varieties of serpents and the toll of life taken by snake bites

is very heavy.

Bhandarkar<sup>30</sup> quotes a passage of iddeśa which mentions the religions prevailing in the fourth century B.C. Among these there is a mention of the worship of Balarāma along with Kṛṣṇa. That sect became coterminous with the race of the Sātvatas. The Br. P. describes the importance of his worship with Kṛṣṇa and Subhadrā at Koṇārka. Even at present, Balarāma is worshipped at Mathurā and there is a celebrated temple in his honour where he is worshipped by the name of Dauji. The idol of Balarāma bears a cup in his hand, a cup meant for wine to which his addiction is well known. Behind him there is a shrine of serpent Śeṣa of whom he is considered to be an incarnation. Even at present he is worshipped as Vrajarāja in northern India.

He is considered to be an incarnation of Seşa (181.39) as well as of Viṣṇu. It is said that after the incarnation of Rāma, Viṣṇu snatched out two hairs—one black and another white—from his body, the black hair was incarnated as Lord Kṛṣṇa and the white hair was incarnated as Balarāma. Thus Balarāma too, like Kṛṣṇa, is considered to be an aṃśāvatāra of Viṣṇu 31 He was the seventh child of Vasudeva and Devakī but on account of the fear of Kaṃsa he was dragged from Devakī's foetus and was afterwards transferred to the womb of Rohiṇī. Therefore, he is known as Saṃkaṛṣaṇa (181.39-42). This story was apparently invented in order to make him a brother of Kṛṣṇa. Probably the two popular gods Govinda-Vasudeva and Baladeva were closely connected, and, after the former was identified with the Rājput hero Kṛṣṇa, the latter came to be regarded as his brother. 32

The following anecdotes are told about Balarāma. Šatadhanvā had the jewel Syamantakı. Šrī Kṛṣṇa killed him for it but found that Šatadhanvā did not have it then in his possession. When Śrī Kṛṣṇa related this to Balarāma, Balarāma refused to believe his story. He broke all relations with Kṛṣṇa and entered Mithilā. Duryodhana went to Mithilā and learnt the gadāvidyā from Balarāma. Kṛṣṇa then appeased him and brought him back to Dwīrakā (17.20-28). Balarāma killed the donkey-faced demon

<sup>30.</sup> op. cit., p. 3.

<sup>31. 181.17,</sup> Mbh. Bom. Ed. I. 197.33,

<sup>32.</sup> ERE, Vol. VII, p. 195.

Dhenuka (186). In a game called harikrīḍana, a demon called Pralamba disguised himself as one of the playmates, carried Balarāma at his back and began to fly. Realizing the trick, Balarāma pressed him down with all his weight and force so that the demon unable to bear it abandoned the disguise whereupon Balarāma killed him with his fist (187.1-30). Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa killed the elephant Kuvalayāpīḍa (193.30). Balarāma killed the demonwrestler Muṣṭika (193.65). He also killed Sunāmā, the brother of Kaṃsa (193-65).

Balarāma is famous for his addiction to wine. Varuņa sent the wine Vāruņī to Balarāma for a drink. Balarāma drank to his heart's desire and being intoxicated ordered the river Yamunā to come to him as he wanted to take bath. As the river Yamunā

did not come, he dragged her with his plough (a.198).

He defeated the kings Paundraka, Dantavaktra, Viduratha. Sisupāla, Jarāsandha, Śālva and others when they followed Krsna while he was carrying away Rukminī (199.7). On the occasion of the marriage of Aniruddha with his grand-daughter, Rukmi invite : Balarāma to gamble. Rukmi was an expert and Balarāma lost much wealth. At this, king of Kalinga mocked him. Annoyed, Balarāma staked one crore mudrās. Rukmi played his turn and Balarama won but Rukmi protested saying that he had not agreed to the game. Upon this the divine speech declared that even though Rukmi had not said anything about the betting, his act of playing his turn amounted to agreeing to the bet, and therefore, Balarāma had won the bet. But even then Rukmi did not accept the ruling. So Balarāma got angry and killed Rukmi by throwing at him the Astapada. He also broke the teeth of the king of Kalinga and killed all the kings who were partisans of Rukmi (202.11-25).

Balarāma killed the army of Bāṇāsura when there was a terrible fight between Kṛṣṇa and Bāṇāsura (206.30). Sāmba when attempting to kidnap Lakṣmaṇā, the daughter of Duryodhana was caught. Balarāma went to Hastināpura and requested the release of Sāmba. When they did not comply with, he shook the city with his plough and compelled the release of Sāmba (a.208). Once when Balarāma was in the company of his wife, Revatī, a monkey Dvivid threw a slap of stone on him and Balarāma smashed him with his fist (a.209). At the time of death, Balarāma went into Samādhi whereupon a serpent emerged from his mouth and entered the ocean and the

serpent was worshipped by the siddhas and the uragas (210.50-53). The Br. P. deals at length with the worship of Balarāma along with Kṛṣṇa and Subhadrā. Elsewhere it is said that one who worships Balarāma gets the desired rewards and becoming free from all sins, goes to Viṣṇuloka (58.21-26). According to Tarapada Bhattacarya, 33 Balarāma is more closely associated with Rudra or Siva as their characteristics agree in many respects. Rudra is regarded as a god of agriculture in the Vedas and so does Saṃkaraṣaṇa's emblem 'hala' indicate. Balarāma is associated with nāga and so is Siva. Both Rudra and Balarāma are known to have been great drunkards. Saṃkarṣaṇa was thus a god of the Rudra-Siva cult who was later incorporated into the Vasudeva cult by identifying him with Kṛṣṇa's brother, Balarāma. Balarāma-worship is referred to in the benedictory stanza of Bhāsa's famous drama Svapnavāsavadattam.

#### SIVA

The history of Siva has undergone many vicissitudes. He was the Supreme God of the proto-Indians and was worshipped by them. The early Vrātyas in the proto-Indian period worshipped the trio consisting of Siva, Murugan and Amma corresponding to Siva, Subhramanya or Kārtikeya and Pārvatī respective'y. He was held by the proto-Indians both as a philosophical entity, and as a god to be meditated upon.34 However, with the advent of the Vedic period, the Vedic bards tried to present a new personality by introducing the character of Rudra. As Rudra, he is a minor god in the Rgvedic pantheon.35 He is described there as a malignant as well as a beneficent deity. The epithet Siva 'auspicious', which begins to be applied to him in the Rgveda, grows more frequent in the later Vedas, and finally becomes his regular name in post-Vedic mythology. Thus the next effort of the Aryans was mainly towards causing an amalgamation of the two gods, Siva and Rudra. In the later samhitās along with Viṣṇu he becomes one of the two great gods of the brāhmanas.36 The Vājasaneyī

<sup>33.</sup> The Cult of Brahmā, p. 109.

<sup>34.</sup> Karmarkar A.P., The Religions of India, Vol. 1, p. 38, 35. Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 76.

<sup>36.</sup> Keith, Religion of Veda & Ups., p. 143.

Sumhitā mentions such epithets of god as Giriśa, Paśupati, Sammua Montagara, Bhava, Siva and also as wearing hide-skin garments, and in the Av. he is elevated to a higher position.<sup>37</sup> In the period of the brahmanas, the power of Rudra was at its height. The gods were afraid of him lest he should kill them. 38 It is, however, in the Śvetāśvatara Upanişad that Śiva stands alone in the field as the Supreme God and the bhakti which manifested itself at that time was mostly directed towards him. 39 But this upanisad is not a sectarian work and there is no evidence in it of the existence of a Saivite sect which worshipped Siva as its favourite god.40 The grhyasutras also do not provide evidence of the existence of a Saivite sect. 41 From the days of Patañjali onwards, the existence of some Saiva sects can be taken for granted.42 In the earlier portions of the Mbh., both the sects, viz. Saivites and Vaisnavites, exist without much antagonism between them but in the later part of the epic such antagonism is clearly visible. The history of Siva during the epic and Puranic periods is of deep interest. In the epics, the formation of the basis of the future mythology takes place and Siva is now brought into direct contact with the other brahmanic gods. The old characteristics of Siva during the Indus valley period are attributed to the new personality of Rudra-Siva. Thus the epic and Puranic Rudra is a combination of the Vedic and non-Vedic notions. Hence the early notions of Siva as a dancer, an ascetic and a yogin, a god of the Himālayas, and one possessed of three eyes are all associated with the Siva-Rudra of the Vedic and brāhmanic period. It should be borne in mind that all these elements are not an innovation but they are introduced only as a matter of revision of the past.43

Though, the Br. P. is considered mainly to be a Vaisnava Purāņa, still it does not aim at the exclusive worship of Vișņu.

<sup>37.</sup> Bhandarkar, op. cit. p. 148.

<sup>38.</sup> Keith, ibid.

<sup>39.</sup> Bhandarkar, op. cit.

<sup>40.</sup> ibid.

<sup>41.</sup> Apte V.M., Social and Religious life in the Grhyasūtras, Bhandarkar, op. cit.

<sup>42.</sup> Bhandarkar, op. cit.

<sup>43.</sup> Karmarkar A.P. op. cit., p. 62.

On the contrary, it deals at great length with Siva and considers him at par with Viṣṇu. The following is the picture of Siva as obtained from the Br. P.

Siva is called Vikṛtarūpa (34.100), Dhūrjaṭi (35.1), Nīlalohita (35.1), Vilohita (40.13), Suciromā (40.61), and Sikhanḍī (40.79). He is said to have three heads (40.11) or a thousand heads. The moon rests on his head and hence the epithets Sasikhaṇḍamauli (110.104), Candrārdhakṛtaśekhara (34.1), Bālendamauli (78.58, 59.15) etc., are applied to him. The crescent on the forehead of Siva is a mere development of the early representative of the so-called Triśūla-horn' placed on the head of Siva during the proto-Indian period. His head is either fully shaved or half shaved (37.14). He keeps matted hair. He is said to have three jaṭās (40.11). He has a blue braid or a golden braid (40.16). Elsewhere it is said that he keeps his hair loose and they are wet with the water of the river Ganges that rests on Siva's head (40.33, 39). His hair is yellow in colour (40.37). The epithet Ūrdhvakeśa is also applied to him (40.61).

He is said to have three eyes of which one is in the forehead.<sup>46</sup> According to Monier Williams,<sup>47</sup> the third eye and the crescent moon on it, mark the measuring of time by months. According to Father Heras,<sup>48</sup> the idea of three eyes was so well-known that its mention<sup>49</sup> in the inscriptions, revealed to those people the idea of the supreme being. As already noted Siva is also said to have a thousand eyes (37.4, 40.31). His eyes are said to be deformed (40.3). The colour of his eyes is said to be white, yellow, black or red (40.35).

He has big ears (40.4) justifying the use of epithets like śańkukarņa, kumbhakarņa gajendrakarņa gokarņa and śatakarņa (40.4, 5).

When Lord Siva presented his ugly aspect to Parvati, he appeared with a broken nose (35.5). He had a big and fearful

<sup>44. 40.30; 115.7;</sup> cf. Mbh. vii. 80.54 f., iii 39.74 f.

<sup>45.</sup> Karmarkar A.P., op. cit., p. 71.

<sup>46. 43</sup>A. 43, 40.11, 37.12, also cf. Av. II.2.7; Vs. 16.7.

<sup>47.</sup> Religious Thought and Life in India, p. 80.

<sup>48.</sup> The Religion of the Mohenjodaro people according to Inscriptions, J.U.B. Vol. I, pp. 1-29.

Marshall John, Mohenjo Daro & Indus Civilization, Vols. I-III, London, 1931, No. 449.
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mouth in which Kālāgni resides (40.65). Siva has a thousand tongues (40.5). His tongue is said to be sharp like a sword (40.23). He is called Damstrī (43.23). He has fearful teeth (40.23), although again it is said that his face is pleasant like a moon (40.74). His throat is said to be blue and he is called nilakantha (109.31) and nilagriva (40.13). His beard is yellow (40.61); his shoulders are as strong as a bull's (40.15); he has ten hands (40.21), and a big belly (40.61). He is also said to have hundred bellies (40.5). He has a thousand feet (40.30).

His complexion is red like that of the rising sun (40.31). Elsewhere he is said to be Saratkundenduvarcasa (59.14, 15). Siva's white complexion may be due to the fact that the brahmins of Kashmir, who are very fair were the first to worship him. Then as his cult moved southwards his complexion turned more in keeping with that of his worshippers Siva's wife Parvati is often called Gauri, the pale-coloured. Siva wears no clothes (38.36.37) or if he does it is the skin of a lion (59.14, 15), or that of a black deer (40.37), or that of an elephant (a.124). He uses white bhasma (40.22, 59.14, 15) and saffron (a.108). He is called vyālayajñopavītin (40.37). A serpent adorns his neck. He also wears a necklace of bells; hence the epithets ghantakī and ghantī which are applied to him (40.66). He likes the garland of karnikāra flowers (40.72). He also wears a garland of skulls and a sūtra of kapālas (37.7). The practice of offering human victims to Siva was long in vogue since the proto-Indian period. This may be the reason why Siva and Kāli are always represented as wearing a necklace of skulls.50 The kāpālikas and the kalamukhas are called the wearers of skulls.51

Siva rides a bull (40.15, 73), the Nandi, lord of the cows (127.59). In the Epics<sup>52</sup> and the Purāṇas,<sup>53</sup> stories regarding the origin of the bull as a vehicle for Siva are given. The study of iconography<sup>54</sup> proves that the ideas of the association of the bull with Siva must have arisen in or sowewhere around the territory of

<sup>50.</sup> Karmarkar, op. cit., p. 70.

<sup>51.</sup> Muir J., Original Sanskrit texts, Vols. I-V.

<sup>52.</sup> Mbh., Anusasana 112.30; Ram. Uttarakāṇḍa, 16.17.

<sup>53.</sup> Siva Purāņa, Uttara Satarudeīva Sam., Adh. 3, Linga. P. Pūrvārdha, 47 ff., Kūrma P. Uttarābhāga, A. 42.

J.N. Banerjea, Development of Hindu Iconography, p. 121.
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the Mahāvṛṣas, situated in the north-west of India. And as Father Heras observes, the idea must have travelled far and wide in India during the regime of the Kushan and Pallava rulers. 55 Eventually it must have been introduced in the Mbh. Dharma constitutes the nature of the bull (40.81).

Siva's weapons consist of a bow called Pināka (34.5, 129.68,69) and the Triśūla (40.11, 14.5) or the three-pronged trident. He is also said to have thousand śūlas (40.31). He wields the gadā (40.51), daṇḍa (40.12, 65, 79), arrows (40.51), a non-descript weapon called Khaṭvāṅga (40.51), consisting of a kind of staff with transverse pieces surmounted by a skull, 56 the mudgara (40.51) and the sword (40.10). His banner is white (40.18) and has the emblem of a bull (34.6, 75.25). The sign of the sun also constitutes the emblem on his banner (40.14), showing his connection with Sun. He produces the sound 'hum hum' (40.27). He plays the musical instrument by mouth (40.20). The tumbī and vīṇā are dear to him (40.23). He also possesses a ghanṭā (40.26).

He is called Tryambaka (40.11), one who has three mothers in allusion to the three-fold division of the universe.<sup>57</sup> This epithet which is commonly applied to Siva in the post-Vedic literature is already applied to Rudra in the Vedic texts (vs. 3.58; 5B. 2,6; 2.9), and once also in the Rv. (7.59.12). The simplest explanation of Tryambaka may be not that Siva has three mothers but three mother-goddesses—Umā, Gaurī, Kāli, who are called Ambikās, each originally an ambā or a mother.<sup>58</sup> Among other meanings suggested one is ambā in the sense of pupilla to agree with the traditional meaning of the god having three eyes.<sup>59</sup>

Among the various names attributed to him some indicate his following among the non-aryan and tribal population. These are Vighneśwara (also name of Gaņeśa), Nandinātha, Bhūtanātha (109.29-37). He is identified with various feelings like desire, dveṣa, rāga, moha, śama, kṣamā, vyavasāya, dhairya, lobha, kāma, krodha and jaya. It is also said that the colours green, red, yellow, blue, white, kapila, brown and black belong to him

<sup>55.</sup> Heras, op. cit.

<sup>56.</sup> Monier Williams, op. cit. p. 81.

<sup>57.</sup> Macdonell, Vedic Mythology; Grassmann, Translators of Rv. 10.155
58. Hopkins, Epic Mythology, p. 220

<sup>59.</sup> Hopkins, ibid.

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(40.48-50,55). He is dānapara (100.19-21), remover of poverty and unhappiness (122,195—206), and annadātā (40.40). He is called Kilakila, Kubja, Kuţila, Canda, killer of enemies and Ugra (40.6-21). He is Kāmada as well as Kāmāyana (40.38) and

Bhairava.

Siva is styled as a yogin par excellence. On some of the proto-Indian seals he is represented seated in a yogic posture. In the Br. P. he is called the lord of yogins and destroyer of the yoga of the daityas (40.36, 37.12). He practises penance in the water. He keeps his mind in tranquility and bestows prosperity as a result of practising yoga (37.15—16). Siva's connection with water is interesting. The place of Varuna as a water-god was, at a later period, to some extent assumed by Kṛṣṇa and Śiva. During the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., on the arrival of the white Hūnas in Gujarat and Kathiawad, the sea began to influence these newcomers as is shown by the fame which grew round Siva in his form as Somanatha with a shrine to him at a place with the same name. Siva is worshipped at river junctions. 61 Siva's connection with water might have been made in direct opposition to that of Visnu as Visnu too is directly connected with water, the ocean being his abode. Siva is said to perform sandhyā and other five religious practises daily (40.33). He also performs the six karmans and the three karmans (40.33).

Cemeteries and burning grounds are his favourite haunts; imps and demons are his servants, and ferocity and irascibility on the slightest provocation, constitute his normal condition of mind.<sup>62</sup>

Siva is the best architect and the progenitor of all the artisans (a.40). In order to regulate the world, he divided the Vedas and propagated gāthās, smṛtis, and the Purāṇas, and all of them have the nature of śabda (75.8—13). Though Lord Siva creates, protects and destroys the world by his māyā, he is not attached to it (129.68,69). Though living the life of a sādhu, he is a gṛhastha, who gives gifts (37.14). Those who are afflicted by the troubles of the world get peace by worshipping Siva and Pārvatī. He is considered to be so liberal that when pleased, (107.55) he

<sup>60.</sup> Karmarkar, A.P., op. cit. p. 73.

<sup>61.</sup> J. Tod, Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan, ed. Oxford, 1920, i. 18, ii. 704.

<sup>62.</sup> Monier Williams, Brahmanism & Hinduism, p. 82.

grants things which one does not even deserve. Hence the epithet ayuktadātā is applied to him (110.101=106).

The Br.P. gives a detailed description of Pārvatī's marriage with Siva (36.70). The Br.P. narrates how Pārvatī formed a conspiracy with Vināyaka and Jayā to bring down Ganges from the head of Lord Siva (a.74). He is called Umāpriyakara and Ambikānātha (34.1, 37.3, 40,38). Ambikā, a post-Vedic name of Siva's wife, is mentioned for the first time in Vājasaneyī-saṃhītā (3.5) appearing here, however, not as Rudra's wife, but as his sister Umā, and Pārvatī, the regular name of Siva's wife, seems first to occur in the TA. and the Kena-Upanişad.

Siva makes his abode on the mountain. Bas He is called Girīśa and Giritra 'lying on a mountain', probably because the thunder-bolt he hurls, springs from a cloud, which is often compared to a mountain and on which he is believed to dwell. He is said to reside on the Jyotişthala peak of the mountain Meru which was studded with jewels. Further the Satarudrīya refers to Rudra-Siva as Girīśa, Giritra, etc. This idea must have developed later on. And it is thus that Siva is endowed with the Kailāśa as his abode. Bas abode.

Šiva lives among the Ādityas, Vasus, Aśvinīkumāras, Kubera, Guhyakas, Šukrācārya, Sanatkumāra and others (39.4-8). The rākṣasas, piśācas and pārṣadas sit near him. The Mbh. 65 and the Purāṇas 67 give a detailed description of the gaṇas of Śiva. Pārvatī sits by his side and Gaṅgā serves him (39.4-8). He is surrounded by the naked gaṇas (38.36, 37). He is the destroyer of pramathas (40.15). He lives in the beings residing in ocean, river, mountains, caves, unapproachable places, cow-settlements, cross-roads, old houses, in Rasātala and in the places where elephants, horses and chariots are kept (40.93, 96). He also earned a reputation for destroying sacrifices: once when the sacrifice was fleeing in the form of a deer, he destroyed it by becoming a hunter (39.35, 36; 37.9). He also destroyed the sacrifice of Dakṣa (A. 109).

<sup>63. 34.99-101;</sup> Vs. 16.2-4.

<sup>64.</sup> Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 146.

<sup>65.</sup> Karmarkar A.P., op. cit. p. 69.

<sup>66.</sup> Sauptika Parva, Adh. 7.

<sup>67.</sup> Skanda P., Brahmakhanda Dharmaranyakhanda, 3.12 ff. Prabhasakhanda 4.87,ff., Kasikhanda, 53.

Rudras: Śiva is represented with eleven armlets in the Indus valley period. The Br. P. states that Rudra was created out of the anger of Brahmā (1.45) and that Rudras are the sons of Kaśyapa and Surabhi. The name given are Ajaikapāda, Ahirbudhnya, Tvaṣṭā, Hara, Bahurūpa, Tryambaka, Vṛṣākapi, Sāmbhu, Raivata, Śarva and Kapāli. They were born by the grace of Lord Mahādeva (3.46-48). The expressions Ajaikapāda and Ahirbudhnya occur in the Rgveda. In the opinion of Karmarkar ekapād is indicative of the image standing on one leg in the Indus valley period. The expression Ahirbhudhnya throws light on the close association of Śiva and the Nāga, which was supposed to be in the depths of the world, the later Pātāla.

Vīrabhadra: Vīrabhadra is said to have been born from the anger of Siva to destroy the sacrifice of Dakṣa in the form of a lion (39.75-77). From his pores he created so many Rudras that darkness prevailed on all the sides and the lustre of sun and moon became dim (39.40-58). Vīrabhadra is a favourite deity of the Kurumbhas, a tribe of hunters and shepherds in southern India. Vīrabhadra destroyed the sacrifice of Dakṣa with the help of Bhadrakālī, who too was created out of Pārvatī's wrath (39.72).

Jvara: He is said to have been created out of the perspiration of Siva's forehead. When Siva was angry with Dakşa, he wanted to destroy his sacrifice which grew afraid, took the form of a deer and began running away in the sky. Siva folk wed him with bows and arrows. At that time Jvara arose from his perspiration and he is described as brasva, atimātra, red-eyed, yellow-bearded, terrible, Urdhvakeśaḥ, Atiromānga and Soṇakarṇa, having a terrible or bad colour and wearing red clothes. He burnt the sacrifice and the gods were so afraid of him that they fled from him in different directions. The earth began to tremble and Lord Brahmā then declared that he would be known in the world by the name of Jvara (39.77-87), which literally, means fever.

Manyū: In the Rgveda, Manyū, wrath, is a personification suggested chiefly by the fierce anger of Indra, and is invoked in two hymns (RV. 10.83, 84). In the Br.P. he is believed to have

<sup>68.</sup> Rv. X. 65, 13, 66.11; AV. 1.6; Parāskar Gr. S. 2.15,2.

<sup>69.</sup> Karmarkar A.P., op. cit., p. 77-78.

Hewitt, Ruling Races etc. I, p. 136.
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emerged from the third eye of Siva. He is the puruşa in men, the ahamkāra in all beings and the anger of all. He is within all but no one knows him. The gods conquered the demons with his help. He is a representative of lord Siva and burns everything with his brilliance at the time of destruction and at that fierce time, he holds all the weapons, increases joy and conquers everything (162.20-29).

### KARTIKEYA

Among the post-Vedic gods, Kumara or Kārtikeya is a deity of high rank sometimes called Skanda and Mahasena also. popularization of the cult of Siva involved a process of syncretism. the adoption of various local gods as his manifestations. Skanda. a deity of the same class, who was the family god of some west Indian dynasties, now under the name of Subhramanya is most popular in South India, where his association with the mothergoddess shows that he is connected with the non-Aryan cult. 71 It is a cult special to the Tamil and Malayalam peoples.72 He is first mentioned in the Chandogya Upanişad (vii. 26.2), where he seems to be identified with Sanatkumāra. Hopkins73 surmises that Skanda is not a late addition to the epic but a god rapidly increasing in importance as the epic expanded, or more particularly, as the Siva-cult expanded. Jacobi74 infers that Kumāra as the lord of the army was introduced as a new god probably due to a change in the form of government in the country where instead of the king holding both the offices of ruler in peace and leader in war, the office of a general became separate and distinct.

The myth of the birth of Kumāra is variously related, <sup>75</sup> his father being given as Siva (81.2) and Agni (82.10, 3.40), his mother as Umā (81.2), Gangā (82.10) and various other minor deities like the wives of the sages (42.6) and others. These rival claims to parentage had to be settled and this was effected by the assumption of a sort of joint parentage, and by making some of the female

<sup>71.</sup> BG i, Pt II, pp. 180, 287; Oppert 303,370.

<sup>71.</sup> ERE, Vol. 12, 442.1.

<sup>73.</sup> Epic Mythology, p. 227.

<sup>74.</sup> ERE, Vol. ii, p. 807.

<sup>75.</sup> Mbh III. 225 ff., IX 44 f., XIII. 84 ff., Rām. i.36ff.

deities his nurses or adoptive mothers. The strange myth about the birth of Kumāra appears to be best interpreted on the assumption that in different parts of India there were several popular godlings of the war-god kind and that these were combined into one, Kumāra, the war god common to all Indians. For there are three variants or alteregos of Kumāra,—Viśākha, Šākha and Naigamey—and the Br. P. identifies Viśākha (81.4) with Kārtikeya who is known to have received popular worship.

The following is the story related in the Br. P. about Kartikeya's birth. When the gods were oppressed by the danger of the demon Tāraka, they requested Agni to bring it to the notice of Siva. Thereupon Agni took the form of a Parrot and with great hesitation went to the place where lord Siva was in privacy with Pārvatī. Lord Šiva released his semen into Agni who unable to bear it transmitted it into Krttikas on the bank of the divine river. The child that was thus born to them was known as Kartikeya (128.1-25; 3.41). Elsewhere it is said that the Agni drank up the virile semen of lord Siva and preserved it in six of the wives of the seven sages, i.e., all excepting Arundhati. These wives released their foetuses in the Ganges where they were mixed together by the wind and out of them a child with six-faces destined to kill the demon Tāraka was born (82.1-12). Therefore, he is called Kārtikeva, the son of the six Kṛttikās, the wives of the sages, and Sanmukha, because he was born with six faces. Also Găngeya, as the foetuses were released into the Ganga, the son of Siva as the semen originally belonged to Siva and Agniputra as Agni drank the semen.

Among the feats of Kārtikeya the most important is the destruction of the demon Tāraka (81.2). In this connection an interesting story is told about Kārtikeya's lust for women. After the destruction of Tāraka, Lord Siva and Pārvatī were so pleased with Kārtikeya that they permitted him to enjoy himself as much as he pleased. Kārtikeya took undue advantage of the permission and began to sleep with the wives of gods. The gods complained to Pārvatī about her son's misdeeds. When, in spite of Pārvatī's

<sup>76. 128.23;</sup> ERE, Vol. II, p. 807.

<sup>77.</sup> ERE, Vol. II, p. 807.

<sup>78.</sup> Patañjali and Pāṇini, V. 3.99.

insistence to check himself, Kārtikeya was unable to restrain himself, Pārvatī took the form of every god-wife so that Kārtikeya saw the form of his mother in every woman and took an oath to look upon every female as his mother (82.1-15).

The Br. P. further states that the holy place, Kārtikeyatīrtha or Kumāratīrtha on the bank of the river Godāvarī is dedicated to Kārtikeya. By visiting it one attains grace and beauty and even great sins like sexual relations with the wife of one's teacher are

expiated (81.20, 21).

A Lingāyat tradition reports that Kārtikeya was the founder of a gotra and was a form of Lord Siva himself.<sup>79</sup> On the reverse of the coins of the Kuṣāṇa prince Kaniṣka, there are figures with names in Greek letters of Skando, Mahāseno, Kumāro and Bizago.<sup>80</sup> Several observances and vows in the name of Kumāra and Kārtikeya are mentioned in Hemādri's Vratakhaṇḍa. His worship has not become obsolete even to this day.

In Siam, a great festival was celebrated in honour of Kārtikeya and the Piciades who fostered him. It took place at the time of the moon's conjunction with this star-cluster, i.e. shortly before full-moon. It was a fire-festival in agreement with Kartikeya's legendary birth from fire. Similarly a worship is offered in honour of Kartikeya in southern India on the full-moon day. The Br. P. also states that one who takes a bath at Kṛttikātīrtha in the Kṛttīkayoga of the Kārtika month gets the merit of all the sacrifices and becomes a religious king (82.15, 16).

# GANAPATI

Originally known as Vighneśwara, a trouble-maker for the Āryan gods and a leader of the 'gaṇas'—the indigenous tribal groups,—was Āryanized and transformed into the god of success, in the Purāṇas.82

<sup>79.</sup> Bhandarkar, op. cit. p. 214.

<sup>80.</sup> JBBRAS Vol. XX, p. 385.

<sup>81.</sup> ERE., Vol. V., p. 888.

<sup>82.</sup> Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya: Lokāyata Ancient Indian Materialism, (Chapter 3), People's Publishing House, 1959.

In the Atharvaśiras Upaniṣad, Rudra is identified with many gods, among whom one is called Vināyaka, another name for Gaṇapati. In the Mbh. (Anuśāsana 151, V. 26 & V. 57) many Gaṇeśvaras and Vināyakas are mentioned. In the Mānavagṛhya-sūtra (2.14) and the Yājñavalkyasmṛti (1.271 ff.) an account of Vināyakas is given but the difference between the two shows that during the period that had elapsed between the composition of the sūtra and that of smṛti, the four Vināyakas had become one Gaṇapati-Vināyaka, with Ambikā for his mother. The ceremony occurring in the Gṛhyasūtra mentioned above suggests that the Vināyakas were objects of faith before the Christian era, but the one Gaṇapati-Vināyaka, the son of Ambikā, was introduced in the Hindu pantheon much later. \*\*

There are groups of images of Kāla, Kāli, and seven mothers or śaktis, and Gaṇapati in the caves at Ellora which are referred to the later part of the eighth century. Thus it seems that the rehabilitation of Gaṇapati as a Hindu god must have taken place between the end of the fifth and the end of the eighth century. In another inscription dated Vikrama Samvat 918 corresponding to A.D. 862, found at a place called Ghatiyala, 22 miles north-west of Jodhpur, an obeisance is made to Vināyaka. 86

About his birth, the Br. P. states that Pārvatī created him by meditation. Many gods came to see the newborn child Ganeşa. Ignoring his mother's advice, he grasped the moon in his father's forehead. Because he sucked the milk in large gulps out of a childish fear that his brother Kārtikeya might get more of it, Pārvatī called him Lambodara (114.4-18). Interestingly enough it is also stated that he was created out of dirt (97.22).

In one hand he holds the Vighnapāśa and on the other shoulder he rests an axe and when he does not receive homage, he creates obstructions. He is said to have thrown obstructions in the deeds of his mother. He is very proud of his abilities. His vehicle is a rat. It is probably more than a coincidence that the rat is a totem of at least one Dravidian tribe, the Oraons (ERE, Vol. VI, p. 178). He is called Ambikānandana, Ādideva and

<sup>83.</sup> Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 210.

<sup>84.</sup> ibid.

<sup>85.</sup> Cave Temples by Fergusson & Burgess.

<sup>86.</sup> Bhandarkar, op. cit. p. 210.

Ganeśvara. In all the rites, all the deities, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa worship him, mediate on him and bow down before him. None can equal him in bestowing the desired fruits. Thinking thus, did Lord Siva worship him before killing Tripura. In the works dealing with dharma, artha and kāma, he should be worshipped first. The merit of his worship never decreases. The gods and the deities worship [him daily (114.4-18). Ganeśa obstructs the path of anyone who goes on [a pilgrimage to the Ganges. The reason given in Br. P. is that he does not like Siva's affection for his mother's co-wife, the Gangā (A.176). These and other myths are also referred to in other works.

He is called Gajavaktra (175.37). It is difficult to determine how the god came to have the elephant's head. The images in the cave-temples at Ellora show him with it and Bhavabhūti in the beginning of the eighth century describes him with that head in Mālatīmādhava. Bhandarkar<sup>88</sup> infers that as Rudra-Śiva and other gods allied with him were closely associated with forests where elephants were found, it perhaps suited the fancy of some men to place the head of that animal over the body of a god originally mischievous.

His symbols, the rat and the elephant, the description of his prowess, the stories about his origin—all connect him with the non-Āryan indigenous population, although subsequently he emerged as the most popular god of the Hindus. The Purāņas contribute a great deal to his adoption in the Hindu pantheon.

Six varieties of the Gāṇapatya sect are mentioned by Ānandagiri in his Śamkaradigvijaya and by Dhanapati in his commentary on the corresponding work of Mādhava.

# BRAHMA

Brahmā, known as Prajāpati, in Vedic times, is celebrated in Rv. (X. 121) as the creator of heaven and earth, of the waters and all

<sup>87.</sup> Bhāg. III.41. 37-41, 42.2 & 33, [43. 18 & 31, Brahmāṇḍa IV. 27 72-104; 44.67; III.67.55; Matsya 23.38 & 84, 54. 524, 533-41, 250.25; Maitrāyaṇi Samhita 2.6.1. Brahmavaivarta 3.8; Linga 105, Padma sṛṣṭi 43, 63, Yājña-valkya 1.27, Matsya 153; Gaṇeśa P. 2.137; I. 81-106; 1.44.45; 2.138-148, 1.61, 1.15. 2.73-83, 1.92, i. 13-15.

<sup>88.</sup> Vaisnavism, Saivism and minor religious systems, p. 211,

that lives,—he who was born as the one lord of all that is, the one king of all that breathes and moves, the one god above all the gods, whose ordinances all the gods and beings follow, who embraces with his arms the whole world with all creatures. In As. and Vs. and quite regularly in the Brāhmaṇas, he is recognized as the chief god. In the sūtras, (Āśvāiāyana Gr. 5.3, 4) Prajāpati is identified with Brahmā. In the place of this chief god of the later Vedic mythology, the philosophy of the Upaniṣads puts in the impersonal Brahmā, the universal soul or the absolute.

The views of Sri Tarapada Bhattacarya<sup>50</sup> regarding the Brahmā cult are original and noteworthy. According to him in the pre-Vedic days when religion and magic were inseparably connected, there were various forms of Rātra cults in which the gods worshipped were water, earth, fire, air and ether. Some worshipped any one or two, and so all of these came to be regarded as creators of the world. The worshippers of earth gave rise to the worship of the mother goddess and later on to the Śākta or Tāntric religion. Gradually these religions gave rise to the idea of a single creator.—Brahmā. The old god of the water-worshippers was perhaps known as Nārāyaṇa and he was now identified with Brahmā. The worship of Dharma, Śiva, Sūrya and other minor gods was also gradually assimilated by the Brahmā cult. The śrāddha cult was also thus amalgamated.

It is probable that the worship of the gods known to the early. Vedas also existed in the pre-Vedic period. Besides the god or goddess of earth, a water-god, a fire-god (pre-Vedic Agni), a wind-god, and Vyoma were worshipped. They were the Rātra gods. But, for reasons, now lost, the cult of sacrifices gradually arose in India, many of the old gods were incorporated in the Vedas, and their worship was to be performed with sacrifice. Hence followed a great religious schism, the Vedic people forming one group and the worshippers of the old Brahmā (Rātra gods) another. The Vedic gods were called Diva (from which came the word 'deva') and the gods of the Brahmā cult were known as 'Rātra' gods. The symbolic representation of the schism was the struggle between the devas and the asuras. The Brahmā or Rātra cults were for a long

<sup>89.</sup> Macdonell, op. cit.

<sup>90.</sup> The Cult of Brahmā, 1957, pp. 184-186.

time regarded as asura or non-orthodox chiefly followed by the lower class people in some parts of India. The older religions gradually changed the character of the Vedic religion. In the eastern parts of India, (from Brahmävarta and Kuruksetra to Orissa) where the Vedic cult spread slowly, the majority of the people followed the Brahmā cult. In the north-west the great personality of Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva gave rise to the Vaiṣṇava Vāsudeva Pañcarātra cult. Later arose Jainism and Buddhism which gave a death blow to both the Vedic and the non-Vedic cults, including that of Brahma. But Buddhism fell a prey to the old religions and Vaisnavism became the predominant religion. Along with that arose the worship of Siva, Sakti goddesses, Sun and other gods. which gave rise to the modern form of Hinduism. The Vaisnava religion assumed the form of the Bhagavata-pañcaratra religion. and religious sects arose out of the five gods of the old Brahmā cult. But Brahmā disappeared altogether. Thus we find Kṛṣṇa being called 'Bhagawan' himself or Narayana or Siva. The Vedic sacrifices were forgotten. But the old beliefs in image-worship. ancestor worship, tree worship, sanctity of water, the old exclusiveness among the pre-historic sects in the form of the caste system. the sacred places of Brahmā and Siva-all survived in the Indian religions. The philosophy of the Rātra cult gave rise to the Samkhya. The Vedic sacrifice, whose power was called Brahman (after Brahmā), gave rise to the Upanişads and Vedānta philosophy. But the Samkhya was followed by all religious sects. Many problems of Indian philosophy, religions and art may thus be solved if further investigation is carried out about the Brahmācult.

The Br. P. takes its name after Brahmā who is its narrator. It does not give as high a position to Brahmā as it has given to Viṣṇu and Śiva. It describes him as follows:

He is called the self-created-Svayambhū (I.37 40). At the same time he is also said to have emerged from the navel-lotus of Lord Viṣṇu at the end of his yoganidrā (45.29-39). Again, it is said that the cause which is avyakta, nitya and sadāsad and which is called Pradhāna, created Puruṣa and Puruṣa created the world. The Puruṣa is Brahmā. He is then called Ādya, Susūkṣma and lord of the world (1.27). From him he created first the waters and from them the Vīrya was created, from the waters an egg emerged

which was of golden colour and in it Brahmā created himself. which was there, Lord Brahmā divided the egg into two parts, sky and earth, and in between them he created the sky. The whole earth was surrounded by the waters. Then he created kāla, manas, vācā, kāma, krodha and rati. He then created the seven Mānasasons, Marīci, Atri, Angirasa, Pulastya, Pulaha, Kratu and Vasistha. Out of his anger he then created Rudra; then Sanatkumāra and Skanda. After all these he created lightning, clouds, rainbow and birds, followed by Rcs, Yajus, Sāmans, and Sādhyas. Then Brahmā divided his body into two parts, one-half constituting the female form. The two together created all the beings (I.33-52) and from that time onwards, sexual intercourse between man and woman was begun (45.29-39, a. 161). Mythological and theosophic notions inherited from the Vedic period have thus been combined with notions of later origin - genealogic legends, the evolutionary system of sāmkhya and the scheme of the ages of the world-in order to give a rational theory of the origin and development of the world in harmony with the teaching of the Vedas.<sup>91</sup>

He is called Hiranyavarna (1.40). He is always surrounded by gods, dānavas, gandharvas, yakṣas, vidyādharas, uragas, munis, siddhas and nymphs (26.31). His lustre is insupportable (I.24). He is also called Padmakesarasamkāśa (45.29). Besides the seven Mānasa-sons he had five daughters, Sāvitrī, Gāyatrī, Śradūhā, Medhā and Saraswatī (102.1, 2). As regards his rising from the navel-lotus, there is a myth in the Taittirīya Āranyaka (I.XXIII.1) which says that when the universe was still fluid, Prajāpati alone was produced on a lotus-leaf.

He is called Ādideva (9.24), Jagannātha, Jagadyoni, Jagatpati, Jagadvandya, Jagadādhāra and Īśvara (26.31). He is Sanātana (9.24, 25), Avyaya, lord of the worlds and Pañcabhūtasamāyukta (45.30). He is the knower of past, present and future. (122-53, cf. Rām. 7-54.32).

The māyā form of Brahmā is aja and is red and black in colour. She keeps her hair loose. Kāma constitutes her nature. She infatuates the three worlds. She is called Maheśvarī and Mahāmāyā and is very proud of her greatness (134.6, 10).

<sup>91.</sup> ERE., vol. IV. p. 1596.

The main function of Brahmā is creation. By the powers of his mind, he created the sage Atri, Yoni-Bhūtas, Sthūlabhūtas, Sūkşmabhūtas, all the four types of beings, Mārīcas, sages, gods, pitṛs, yakṣas, vidyādharas, rivers, men, monkeys, lions, birds, jarāyujas, aṇḍajas, svedajas, udbhijas, brāhmaṇas, kṣatriyas, vaiśyas, śūdras, antyajas, mlecchas, tṛṇa, gūlma and ants (45.29-39).

The Br. P. describes Brahmā in the capacity of a bestower of boons. Thus Brahmā granted a boon to Bali that he would be a great yogin and that no one would equal him in strength (13.32-34). When Pārvatī practised penance, Brahmā granted her the husband of her desire (34.98). At the same time, Brahmā would not tolerate injustice. Thus when Saraswatī loved Purūravā for many years without Brahmā's knowledge, he cursed that she would be a river in the Mṛtyuloka seen at some places and not seen at other places (a.101).

Many a time, has Brahmā helped the other gods and the sages. Thus in the svayaṃvara of Umā, Brahmā came with a retinue of yogins and siddhas and performed the rites of marriage of Siva with Umā (36.4, 134, 135). Again, when the Moon refused to give back Tārā to Bṛhaspati, Brahmā intervened and brought about a reconciliation (9.24, 25). Elsewhere it is said that Brahmā took the form of a maiden and infatuated the demons who obstructed a religious sacrifice (134.5). The relation of Brahmā with Viṣṇu is to be noted. At the beginning of a kalpa, when many demons wanted to kill Brahmā, he prayed to Lord Viṣṇu and killed the demons (a. 156). Elsewhere it is said that Brahmā is dependent on Viṣṇu (1.24) and that at the end of a kalpa, all the gods along with Brahmā enter into Nārāyaṇa (5.61).

The Br. P., relates some suggestive stories about Brahmā. While performing the marriage rites of Lord Siva, the virile-semen of Brahmā spilled on seeing Lord Siva touch the thumb of Pārvatī for the performance of the marriage rite and from it the Vālakhilyas were created. Brahmā was abashed but Lord Siva gave him a water-pot consisting of holy waters for expiation (a.72). Another story relates how Brahmā developed a passion for his eldest daughter and followed her in the form of a deer when she attempted to escape in the form of a female deer. Then Lord Siva took the form of a hunter and threatened to kill Brahmā. Thereupon Brahmā desisted (a. 102). A similar myth is told in

Rv. (106) and is referred to several times in the Brāhmaņas.<sup>92</sup> The basis of this myth seems to be two passages of the Rv. (1.71.5, 10.61, 5-7), in which the incest of a father with his daughter is referred to and an archer is also mentioned.<sup>93</sup>

Another myth relates how in the dispute between Brahmā and Viṣṇu, Brahmā lied that he had seen the end of the Jyotirmaya linga of Lord Śiva (a. 135). However, during the later epic period, his superiority is set aside in favour of Viṣṇu or Śiva<sup>91</sup> and the temples of Brahmā are now very few, the most well-known being the one at Puṣkara. There is a temple of Brahmā in the Idar State and another at Sādhi near Baroda in Gujarat.<sup>95</sup>

#### The Sun

The Sun was worshipped as Sūrya, Mitra, Savitr, and Pūşan in Vedas. Though, all of them represented basically the same phenomenon, yet they were considered to be distinct deities as their concepts revealed different powers of the Sun. As Savitr, he is the giver and sustainer of life, who each morning awakes the universe and men from sleep; as Mitra, perhaps the most ancient cult of all. he is associated as a member of an early triad, symbolized by the sacred syllable Om, the triad being Agni, Vayu and Mitra. He is invoked also as Pūṣan, the guardian and preserver of the cattle. the companion of travellers, and guide of the soul on its perilous way to the lower world. In later times these several Sun-gods were merged in one and he continued to be worshipped as a Sun-god even after the rise of the supreme gods. In the seventh century, Mayura prayed to Lord Siva in one hundred verses and in the eighth century, Bhavabhūti eulogized Lord Sun in his Mālatimādhava. Thus the Sun has been adored since the Vedic times for the removal of sins and as the bestower of riches, food, fame, health and other blessings.96

<sup>92.</sup> Aitereya Brāhamana 3.33; Śatapatha Br. 1.7.4, Pañcavimśa Br. 8.2.10.

<sup>93.</sup> Bergaigne, La Religion Vedique, 2, 169; Oldenberg, Sacred Books of the East, VI 46, p. 78, f.

<sup>94.</sup> Hopkins, op. cit., p. 192.

<sup>95.</sup> Kane, HDS, Vol. II. p. 724.

<sup>96.</sup> Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 152.

In mythology Surya is the son of Dyaus, the widespreading sky but according to the Br. P. he is the son of Aditi, and the myth regarding his birth and how he came to possess the name Martanda is related. Aditi gave birth to gods but the daityas, danavas, the sons of her co-wives Diti and Danu, troubled them. Therefore, she prayed to lord Sun and requested him to be her son. During her pregnancy she observed several vratas. Her husband scolded her saying that she was killing the child by observing fasts. At that very time, she gave birth to a child and the divine speech declared that as Kasyapa had charged Aditi with the words "Tvaya Māritam Andam" the child would be known as Mārtanda (32.9-45). In the fight with the daityas, the daityas were scorched by the Sun's rays and the gods obtained their sacrificial share and Sūrva is also said to have restored Sampāti and Jaṭāyu, the sons of Aruna and Garuda, when they burnt their wings while going near the Sun (a. 166).

Another myth is related about the family of the Sun. Visvakarman, who is regarded as Prajāpati, gave his daughter Samjñā to the Sun for wife. She bore him two sons Manu Vaivasvata and Yama and one daughter Yamunā. As mentioned earlier, Samiñā unable to bear the splendour of the Sun, substituted for herself 'Chāyā' her shadow, and thus deceiving her husband, she went away to her father's house, but as Viśvakarman was determined to send her back to her husband, she fled in the shape of a mare to the Uttarakurus. Meanwhile Chāyā bore to the Sun two sons, Sāvarnī and the planet Saturn, and a daughter, the river goddess Taptī also called Vişţi. Chāyā preferred her own children to those of Samjñā, and this displeased the Sun. He went to Viśvakarman and asked him to reduce his splendour so that Samjñā (also called Uṣā) might bear his light. Viśvakarman, therefore, put him on his lathe and pared down the body of the Sun. The Sun, learning from Viśvakarman, the shelter of his wife, went in the shape of a horse to the land of the Uttarakurus. There he met Samjñā and from their nostrils were produced the two Asvins (a.6, 32.49-81, a.89). These and other myths are related in other works.97

<sup>97.</sup> Mbh. Ādi Parva 66-27, 67-35; Bhāg., 6.6.8-13; Harivamša 1-9, Vişņu 3-2, Varāha 20; Vayu 84; Padma 5-8; Matsya 11, 124; Mbh. Vanaparva 164, Anušāsana 145.

In the Br. P. Lord Surya shines on a white lotus (28.30). association of the Sun with the lotus seems to rest upon the natural observation that the flower opened when the sun rose and closed at observation that closed at sunset. His eyes are yellow (28.30) and he is decorated with ornaments and is very beautiful (28 31) and he has two hands and his complexion is red. His clothes are like a red lotus (28.30).

Further it is said that he is worshipped with one hundred and eight names. Some of them are Sūrya, Aryamā, Bhaga, Tvaṣṭa, eignt namos. Pūşan, Arka, Savitā, Ravi, Gabhastimān, Aja, Kāla, Mṛtyu, Dhātā, Prabhākara, Prthvī, Apa, Tejas, Kha, Vāyu, Soma, Brhaspati, Sukra, Budha, Angāraka, Indra, Vivasvān, Diptāmšu, Suci, Sauri, Sanaiscara, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Skanda, Vaisravaņa, Yama, Vaidyuta, Agni, Jatharāgni, Aindhana, Tejahpati, Dharmadhvaja, Vedakartā, Vedānga, Vedavāhana, Kṛtā, Tretā, Dvāpara, Kali, the resort of all the Gods, Kalā, Kāşṭhā, Muhūrta, Kṣapā, Yama, Ksaņa, Samvartakakāra, Aśvattha, Kālacakra, Vibhāvasu, Purusa, Śāśvata, Yogi, Vyakta, as well as avyakta, Sanātana, Kālādhyakṣa, Prajādhyakşa, Viśvakarmā, Tamonuda—the remover of darkness, Varuņa, Sagara, Amsa, Jīmūta, Jīvana, Arihā, Bhūtāsraya, Bhūtapati, bowed down by all the worlds, creator, devourer of all the things, Alolupa—one who has no temptations (this is an epithet of Siva applied to Sun), Ananta, Kapila, Bhānu, Kāmada, Sarvatomukha, Jaya, Viśāla, Varada, Sarvabhūtanisevita, Mana. Suparņa, Bhūtādi, Śighraga, Prāṇadhāraṇa, Dhanvantari, Dhūmaketu, Ādideva, Aditiputra, Dvādaśātma, Ravi, Dakṣa, Pītā, Mātā, Pitāmaha, means of getting heaven, progeny and liberation, Trivişţapa, Devakartā, Praśāntātmā, Viśvātmā, Viśvatomukha, Carācarātmā, Sūkṣmātmā, Maitreya, and merciful (33.34-45). One who recites these names gets the desired results (33.48-49).

There are twelve general names of the lord Sun : Aditya, Savitā, Sūrya, Mihira, Arka, Prabhākara, Mārtaņda, Bhāskara, Bhānu, Citrabhānu, Divākara, and Ravi (31.15,16). Sūrya possesses twelve names for each of the months of the year, viz., Vișnu, Dhātā, Bhaga, Pūṣan, Mitra, Indra, Varuṇa, Aryamā, Vivasvān, Amsumān, Tvastā, and Parjanya (31.17) and it is said that Visnu shines in Caitra, Aryamā in Vaiśākha, Vivasvān in Jyestha, Amsumān in Āsādha, Parjanya in Śrāvana, Varuna in Praustha, Indra, in Aśvayuja, Dhātā in Kārtika, Mitra in Mārgaśīrşa, Pūşan in Pauşa, Bhaga in Māgha and Tvaṣṭā in Phālgun (31.19-21). Another list of twenty-one names is given the reciting of which gets one freedom from sins and bestows health, wealth and prosperity (31.34-35). The names are Vikartana, Vivasvān, Mārtaṇḍa, Bhāskara, Ravi, Lokaprakāśaka, Śrīmān, Lokacakṣu, Maheśvara, Lokasākṣī, Trilokeśa, Kartā, Hartā, Tamisrahā, Tāpana, Śuci, Saptāśvavāhana, Gabhastihasta, Brahmā and one who is bowed down by all the gods (31.31-33). The derivation of the word Vivasvān is given in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa where it is said that Āditya Vivasvat illumines (vi-vaste) night and day. Vivasvān goes back of the Indo-Iranian period being identified with Vivanhvant, the father of Yama.

After creating the Prajāpatis and other beings, the Sun divided himself into the forms of twelve Ādityas. The form known as Indra destroys the enemies of gods. Dhātā is a Prajāpati and creates various beings. Parjanya resides in clouds and showers rain. Tvaṣṭā resides in vegetables and herbs. Pūṣan stays in food, Aryamā in all the deities, Bhaga in all the beings, Vivasvan resides in fire and helps the digestion of food. Viṣṇu too destroys the enemies of gods. Aṃsumān gives happiness to all by residing in Vāyu. Varuṇa resides in waters and maintains all the beings. Mitra practises penance for the welfare of all. The Sun pervades the whole earth by his twelve forms (30.24-39).

Functions: He pours down the rain, maintains all beings, gives light to the world, measures time and divides the seasons (31-4-9). In different seasons, the Sun shines in different colours. In spring, it is kapila, in Grīşma, it is golden, in rainy season, it is white; in autumn, it is yellow; in Hemanta, it is red like copper; in Siŝira, it is red (31.12, 13).

The different forms of the Sun have different numbers of rays. Thus it is said that Viṣṇu shines with 1,200 rays, Aryamā with 1,300 rays, Vivasvān with 1,400 rays, Amśumān with 1500 rays, Parjanya with 1400 rays, Varuṇa with 1300 rays, Tvaṣṭā with 1100 rays, Indra with 1200 rays, Dhātā with 1100 rays, Mitra with 1000 rays, and Pūṣan with 900 rays (31.22-26).

He is higher than the gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva, since they are known through the Vedas whereas the lord Sun is directly perceptible (30.19). Rk and Yajus and Sāmans constitute his form and he is also known by the name Om (32.15, 16). He is the life

of all beings, gods, gandharvas, rākṣasas, sages, kinnaras, siddhas,

uragas and birds (33,10).

It is said that the form of the Sun known as Mitra is indestructible, unmodified, manifested as well as unmanifested, and eternal. It is the upholder of the world and the highest abode. It is birthless. The past, the present and the future are established in it. It is the father and mother of all the beings (30.41-43). Mihira is the Sanskritized form of the Persian Mihr, which is a corruption of Mitra, the Avestic form of the Vedic Mitra. The cult of Mihira had originated in Persia and it spread up to Asia Minor and even Rome, and the proselytizing energy which characterized its first adherents must have led to its extension towards the east also, and of this extension the figure of Mihira on a coin of Kaniska is an evidence. 98

Bhandarkar is of the view that there were six classes of the devotees of Sürya who interpreted the Vedic hymns as setting forth the greatness and the supremacy of the lord Sun. These sects were devoid of any trace of foreign influence but from the early centuries of the Christian era such an outside influence contributed to the growth of Sun-worship in northern India. In the Brhatsamhita (60.19), Varāhamihira expressly tells that the installation and consecration of the images and temples of the Sun should be caused to be made by the Magas and this shows that the Magas were the special priests of the Sun-god. There is a legend in the Bhavişya Purāna (ch. 139) which relates how Sāmba brought Magas from Sākadvīpa and installed them as priests of the temple he had built in honour of the Sun. A reference to Samba and Magas is found in an inscription at Govindapur in the Gayā district dated Šaka 1509=1137-38 A.D. and in Rajputana and other provinces the brāhmaņas of that name are found.99 These Magas are the Magi of ancient Persia and Alberuni speaks of the Persian priests Magas existing in India. 100 As the Indians had been familiar with the foreigners, the Sakas since the 2nd or the 3rd century B.C., the idea of associating Magas with Sakadvīpa must have arisen as they too were foreigners like the Sakas. 101 Thus the worship of the Sun

<sup>98.</sup> Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 151. ff.

<sup>99.</sup> Bhandarkar, op. cit.

<sup>100.</sup> Sachau's trans. Vol. I, p. 21.

<sup>101.</sup> Bhandarkar, op. cit.

was brought into India by the old Persian priests Magi but at whose instance and under what circumstances it is difficult to say. The story of Sāmba was prevalent in the first half of the 12th century.

Bhandarkar makes a survey of all the records available on Sunworship and suggests that the Mihira cult was introduced into India from Persia and the construction of temples is also a foreign influence and this cult is entirely different from the Saura systems. Gradually, the Magas were assimilated and Hinduized by the new cult and became indistinguishable from the other Hindus and formed only a separate class.

The evidence of the copperplate grant of Harşavardhana styling his father, grandfather and great grandfather as the great devotees of Āditya proves that the Sun-cult, probably made up of a mixture of the indigenous and foreign forms prevailed in the beginning of the sixth century and was professed by great princes. The Br. P. mentions Mihira (30.41-43) in the names of the Sun and emphasises the Mitra form of the Sun (31.15).

Not many temples dedicated to the Sun have survived. The one at Konārka in Orissa is the best known and is architecturally of great interest. The Br. P. eulogizes the worship of Konāditya in the holy temple of Konarka situated in the Aundradeśa on the northern shore of the Lavana ocean (a. 28). There is another temple at Gayā and a small but much frequented shrine at Banaras where the fire-sacrifice is performed in honour of the Sun. 103

The Br. P. deals with Sun-worship in chs. 28-38. Hazra has made a comparative study of the Saura upapurāṇas and states that many verses are common to Br. P., Sāmba Purāṇa and Bhaviṣya Purāṇa and there is reason to say that the Br. P. borrowed these common verses from the Sāmba Purāṇa that some other source is shown by the fact that though in ch.28 of Br. P. Brahmā begins, to describe the place of Koṇārka or Koṇāditya situated in Utkala on the northern shore of the salt-ocean at the request of sages, in chs. 29-33 he is found describing Mitravana situated on the bank of the Candrasarit almost in the same verses as those in the Sāmba

<sup>102.</sup> Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I, pp. 72-73. 103. ERE, Vol. XII, p. 84.

Purāņa and the Bhavişya Purāņa with no reference to Konzditya, of Utkala, or to the ocean. 101

### Indra

Indra is the favourite national god of the Vedic Indians. He is celebrated in 250 hymns. As the name, which dates from the Indo-Iranian period and is of uncertain meaning, does not designate any phenomenon of nature, the figure of Indra has become very anthropomorphic and surrounded much by mythological imagery, more so than that of any other god in the Veda. He is primarily the thunder-god, the conquest of the demons of draught or darkness and the consequent liberation of the waters or the winning of light forming its mythological essence. 105

The importance of Indra the Vedic hero, had waned by the time of the Purāṇas, and in the Br. P. he is a deity of secondary importance, constantly seeking the help of either Lord Viṣṇu, Śiva, Brahmā or some great sage in order to ensure safety from the demons and other forces. In Puranic literature, he is described more as a mighty king, a kṣatriya ruler, than as a cosmic god.

He has thousand eyes and a beautiful form. He wears a necklace and mounts the famous elephant Airāvata (36.8-10). Sacī sits by his side and Jayanta adorns his lap (140.4-6). In the Svayaṃvara of Umā, he comes with great pomp (36.8-10). He is surrounded by gods and is praised by siddhas and sādhyas. Nymphs sing and dance and wave fans round him (140.6-8). He wields the thunderbolt in his hand (124.5) and the thunderbolt is the weapon exclusively Indra's. He is called Sakra, Maghavān (10.20), Mahendra and Varada, Jiṣṇu (140.6-8), (124.5), Puraṃdara (10.26), Vṛtrahā, Namucihantā, Puraṃbhettā and Gotravid (124.5).

The court or 'hall' of Indra is the rendezvous of the other gods and is called the Sudharmā and by Lord Kṛṣṇa's order Vāyu carried it to Dwāraka when Ugrasena was coronated. When the Yādava family came to an end, it was given back to Indra (115.14, 15; 212.7). According to Hopkins<sup>106</sup> the 'hall' is a late description in

<sup>104.</sup> Hazra R.C., Studies in the Upapurāņas, Vol. I.

<sup>105.</sup> Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 54.

<sup>106.</sup> Epic Mythology, p. 58.

the epics, (a supposition favoured by other evidence of the same nature regarding their inhabitants)—perhaps a loan from the Jains, who have a heaven with gods called the Saudharmā.

Many anecdotes about Indra are related in the Br. P. He killed the demon Namuci with the foam of the ocean (a. 124). He was deprived of his throne three times, once on account of the sin of killing Vṛtra, again for the sin of killing Sindhusena and the third time when he seduced Ahalyā in the guise of the sage Gautama. 107 When he discovered the deception the sage Gautama cursed Indra with a thousand signs of the female organ to erupt on his body but on being p ayed by Indra, the thousand signs were turned into the form of eyes. Hence he is called Sahasrākşa (a. 87). Indra asked Lord Kṛṣṇa to protect Arjuna who was a part of himself (a.188). He pierced the foetus of Diti into 49 pieces on the advice of the demon Maya and the Maruts were born from them. Thereupon Diti cursed him that he would be dethroned and would be defeated by a woman and the sage Agastya cursed him that he will turn and run in battle (a.124). Indra deceived Raji by flattering him and thus deprived him of becoming the king of gods (a.11). There was a terrible fight between Indra and Lord Kṛṣṇa for the Pārijāta tree and Indra had to give up the tree to Lord Kṛṣṇa (a.188). By the killing of Vṛṭra, Indra was polluted with the heinous sin of brahmana murder (hatya) and he fled in great terror to the end of the world. There he entered waters and concealed himself in the fibre of a lotus. After many years, he was purified by the water of the river Gautami (a 96). In the Mbh. (V.11.ft.) it is stated that Brhaspati cleansed him by a horse-sacrifice from the sin of brahmahatya.

In the Rgveda and the Brāhmaņas there are innumerable stories which relate the intrigues of the gods with married women, e.g., of Indra with the wife of Vṛṣanāśva, 108 with Apalā Ātreyi, 109 etc. The conduct of the gods here is not made a matter of reproach and adultery is not much considered from the ethical point of view. It is because the brāhmin is in possession of the secret knowledge whereby he can inflict harm that a man must refrain from illicit

<sup>107. 122.49;</sup> also cf. Sadv. Br. i. 1.19-20.

<sup>108.</sup> RV. I. 151.13, combined with Śātyāyana Brāhmaņa by Sāyaṇa, Saḍvimsa Br. I. 1.16; Maitrāyanīsamhitā II. 5.5.
109. RV. VIII. 91 & Śātyāyana Br. iv. 1.15

intercourse with his wife. 110 In the Br. P. it is said that when the sage Gautama entered his hermitage when Indra was in the company of Ahalyā, Indra out of fear of the sage became a cat and was later cursed by the sage (a.122).

Indra in the brahmanical mythology is the ruler of heaven and represents the kşatriya or warrior class. Indra is always afraid lest some saint should by severe austerities wrest his power from him, and when there is a danger of this kind, he sends one of the apsarās or heavenly nymphs, to seduce the saint from his ascetic exercises. Thus the Br. P. states that Indra sent the nymph Pramlocā to disturb the penance of the sage Kaṇḍu (a. 178).

Indra, in the Purāṇas, thus represents a kṣatriya confrontation with the brāhmaṇas as well as with the rulers of foreign and

indigenous tribes.

There are no temples of Indra. His images and niches dedicated to him, however, are found within temples of other gods.

Arjuna: When the ancient gods ceased to appeal to the masses of the people in the form in which they were represented in the Vedas, a particular aspect of the same god became popular in some cases, and was therefore regarded as a separate god, demigod, or a hero connected with the original god. A popular godling, with functions similar to those of an ancient god, grew up as a kind of duplicate or when he was not accepted as a god proper, he came by the anthropomorphic influence of the epic poetry, to be regarded as a hero, whose resemblance to the ancient god was explained by the assumption that he was an incarnation of that deity.<sup>111</sup>

Thus, Arjuna in the Br. P. is represented as an incarnation of Indra and Indra personally requests Lord Kṛṣṇa to protect Arjuna as he was a part of himself. He recommends Arjuna for his great courage and suggests to Kṛṣṇa that he take his help in destroying evil factors (188.40—46). According to th Satapatha Brāhmaṇa (II.1.2.11). Arjuna is a mystical name of Indra and according to Pāṇini (IV. 3.98) he was worshipped just as Vasudeva was. But Arjuna is one of the principal heroes of the Mbh. (111.41 ff.) and is intimately connected with Indra.

111. ERE, Vol. II, p. 804. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

<sup>10.</sup> Śatapatha Brāhumaņa. XIV, 9.4.11; Brhadāraņyaka VI. 4.12; Pāraskara Gr. Sū., 1.11.6; ERE. Vol. I, p. 128.

Further, it is related that before Lord Kṛṣṇa passed away from the world he instructed Arjuna to take care of his wives, and to install his grandson Vajranābha on the throne (211.2). Arjuna performed the funeral rites and installed Vajranābha on the throne. He took the widows of Kṛṣṇa with him and was passing with them through Pañcanada when he was confronted by the Abhiras. They fought and defeated him. To his great dismay, Arjuna found that he had lost his prowess and the skill of using his favourite bow Gāṇḍīva. He found himself unable to save the widows of Kṛṣṇa whom the Ābhīras successfully kidnapped. Deeply distressed Arjuna resorted to Vyāsa for consolation (212.1-12, 14-33).

Maruts: In the Rv., there are said to be storm-gods, the sons of Rudra and Pṛṣṇi, also often called Rudras, 112 a group of either three times seven or three times sixty deities, the constant allies of Indra in his conflicts. 118

In the Br. P. an anecdote is told about their birth. In the war between the gods and daityas, when many of the sons of Diti had been slain, she asked her husband Kasyapa for a son who would kill Indra, and Kasyapa granted her request on the condition that she would observe strict purity during the term of her pregnancy. Once, however, when she slept without washing her feet (elsewhere it is said that she slept facing the north at the time of twilight). Indra availed himself of this opportunity, and entered Diti's womb, cut into seven pieces the child with which she was pregnant. When the seven parts began to weep, Indra told them not to do so with the words 'Mā rodiḥ' (elsewhere 'Mā ruta'), and again cut each piece into seven pieces. Hence they were called Maruts and became a troop of forty-nine gods. On seeing this Diti and the sage Agastya cursed Indra, and Kasyapa prayed to Siva who granted the boon that wherever Indra gets a share, the Maruts would be the first partakers and that they would be the constant helpers of Indra and no one would be able to vanquish Indra when he was helped by the Maruts. (3.110-123, 124.17-26). This

<sup>112. 139. 47;</sup> I. 23. 10; Av. 5.21.11. 113. Rv. 3.35.9; 6.17.11; I,165,11,

and other anecdotes regarding the Maruts are given in other works.114

Yama: Yama in the Rv is a deified hero and is considered to be the chief of the dead. In the Rv., it is implied that he is a god, though expressly he is not called a god but only a king who goo, the dead. (Rv. 9.113;10.14). In brahmanical mythology he has become the dreaded god of the nether world, and the sovereign of the demons, and the regent of the south (24.4). He is the son of the Sun-god Vaivasvat, brother of Manu and Yamunā (6.8). In the RV. it is said that his father is Vaivasvat (10.14.5) with whom Saranyu is mentioned as his mother (10.17.1). In the Br. P. it is said that Samjñā or Uşā was his mother (6.7,89.3-5). Yama is often called by his patronymic Vaivasvata. (10.14.1. Br.P. 6.22, 89.5). The trait of Yama being called by his patronymic Vaivasvata is Indo-Iranian for in the Avesta Vivanhavant, as the first man who pressed Soma, is said to have received Yama as a son in reward.115

His vehicle is the buffalo (94.16). He is the guardian of the world (94.32). All men are afraid of him and practice brahmacarya out of fear for him. Fear of him makes people behave better, perform religious rites, observe fasts, go to the forests, drink soma, give annadāna and godāna and the mumukṣus discuss the brahmavāda (125.23,24).

Several myths are related regarding Yama in the Br. P. It is said that when Chāyā-co-wife, of Samjñā, Yama's mother, preferred her own children to those of Samjñā, Yama raised his foot to kick Chāyā but Chāyā cursed that his foot should fall off. Yama's father modified the curse by saying that though the foot might not fall off, it would be eaten by worms and insects (6.23-29). Once on seeing the unhappy condition of a vaisya family over the death of their child, Yama gave up his work of killing and practised penance but on the advice of Sun, he resumed his

<sup>114.</sup> Rām. I.46 f., Bhāg. VI 18.19, 23-27; VIII. 13.4; VI. 10.17; IX. 2.28; 20.35-9; X. 25.7; XI. 6.2; II. 3 8; VI. 5.31; Brahmānda III.5. 79, 90, 99, 104; III. 7.20; 61.46; IV. 2.27, 197; III: I0.110; Matsya 6.47; 163.22-3; Ch. 7.8 4; 9.29; 23.35; 36.1; 49.15; 25-30; 58.33; 132.3; 137.18, 172.14-44; 174.32; 191.117; 246-60; Vāyu 99.139-51.

work (a.86). When Mṛtyu tried to take the life of Śveta, a devotee of Śiva, he was killed. But on hearing of his death, Yama was very angry and a terrible fight ensued between Yama and Nandi and Vināyaka and in the end Kārtikeya killed Yama. Viṣṇu and other gods pleaded with Śiva and Śiva brought him back to life on the condition that Yama would have no control over Śiva's devotees (a.94). Here Yama and Mṛtyu are identified separately and the superiority of Śiva over Yama is emphasised. Yama's messengers fetch the souls of dying men and lead them to Yama's court where Citragupta, the record-keeper reads out an account of their deeds, for the god to give his judgment on. The Br. P. gives a terrible description of Yama's court and the way that leads to it (a.214,215). Many details about Yama are given in other works too.<sup>116</sup>

Agni: In the Rgveda, Agni is the personification of the sacrificial fire. He is therefore the god of the priests and the priest of gods. The Vedic conceptions of Agni are partly retained and occasionally revived in later mythology.

In the Br. P. it is said that he is the husband of Svāhā. He is the consumer of all sacrifices, hence the mouth of gods. He is the first god, for he takes the offerings to the gods and is their messenger. He is a means of performing the sacrifice and has a visible form. The deities enjoy the offerings through him. He resides within the body in the form of the bestower of food (125.15-17, 98.15). With the help of the other gods, Agni gained the power to go everywhere (49.17). He is called Jātavedas, Bṛhadbhānu, Saptārci, Nīlalohita, Jalagarbha, Śamīgarbha, Yajñagarbha, and Vibhāvasu (98.17-18), as well as Hutāśana, Havyavāhana (128.16, 17). As already mentioned when the gods were in danger from Tāraka, the sent Agni to Lord Śiva and as at that time, Lord Śiva was in privacy with Pārvatī, he threw the virile-semen into Agni who had come in the form of a

<sup>116.</sup> Rv. 10.14.5, 10.17.2, 10.10, 10.14.1, 58.1, 60.10, 164.2, 1.35.6, 10.165.4, 10.14.10, 10.135, AV. 8.3.13, Kauśitaki up. 4.15, Maitrāyanīya 6.36, Brhadāranyaka 1.4.11, 3.9.21, Šatapatha Br. 2.2.4.2, Taittiriyu 3.3.8.3, Harivamšu 1.9, Matsya 11.9.11, 12, 17; Pudma P. Sṛṣṭi khanḍa 8; Vāyu 2.22.82, Pātāla khanḍa 39; Bhavisya P. Brahma khanḍa 53; Skanda P. 2.4.11, 3.2.4, Yājīiavalkysmrti 1.2.59, Anuśāsana 161.76, Mitākṣarā 3.2.55, Naiṣadha XII, 17, XXII, 205; XIX 9.46; 47gitized by S3 Foundation USA

parrot and unable to bear it, Agni threw it into Kṛttikās from which Kārtikeya was created. Agni threw the remnant of semen into his wife Svāhā and from it were created Suvarņa and Suvarņā who were married to Saṃkalpā and Dharmarāja respectively (128.1-28).

Kāmadeva: Originally Kama is desire—not of sexual enjoyment only, but of good things in general—and as a personification of desire he is invoked in Av. (IX. 2). But in another hymn, (III.25) he is conceived as the god of sexual love, in which function alone he is known to later mythology.

In the Br. P. he is described as god of love (71.25). His wife is Ratī, the impersonation of sexual enjoyment (38.6) and his friend and companion is the spring (71.32). He is also called Madana, Kandarpa (71.29), Manmatha (28.1) and Kusumākara (71.32). He carries a bow formed of flowers (71.29). There are five arrows (71.31) allegorically representing the infatuating powers of love. Some disparaging epithets are also applied to him like crooked, cruel, ill-behaved, bad-tempered, a disgrace to his family, troublesome to the worlds, obstructive to the sages, an enemy (38.1-4) and scorching the world (38.7).

In the Br. P. it is said that when the gods were confronted with the danger of the demon Taraka, they directed Kamadeva to disturb the penance of Lord Siva. Siva reduced Kāma to ashes but on hearing of the dejection of Ratī over her husband's death. Lord Siva and Umā granted her the boon that even though Kāmadeva was deprived of a body, he would be able to do his work as usual (the term of the epithet 'Ananga' seems to lie in this myth), and further granted that Kāma would be reborn as Pradyumna (38.4-12, 71.34-37). Accordingly, Kāma was born as Pradyumna, Kṛṣṇa's son, but as a baby he was stolen by Sambara, whose wife Māyāvatī, brought him up. Māyāvatī however, was Rāti, who had assumed this form of Māyāvatī in order to deceive the Asura, and thus cause his destruction by Pradyumna. Eventually, Pradyumna killed Sambara and married Māyāvatī. These and other stories about Kāma are given in other works too.117 Apparently, Pradyumna is but a variant of Kāma, or to be more

Bhāgavata III. 12.26; VIII. 7.32. X. 55; XI. 4.7; Viṣṇu V. 27-28, Matsya 154. 209-239; 7.13; 100.329, 261.53-6; 191.110; 3.33; 4.12-21; 23.23.
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accurate, a god of love popular in those parts of India where the worship of Kṛṣṇa prevailed. Kāma has also been identified with Māra, the tempter and the devil of Buddhist legend; hence, in later Sanskrit, Māra becomes a synonym for Kāma. He is still the subject of a mystery play in South India. 119

Soma: Soma, as an intoxicating plant of north-west India which was pressed and allowed to ferment (Skr. Sū, Press', Soma 'the pressing'), is supposed to be Asclepias acida or sarcostemma viminale, the juice of which produces a peculiarity astringent, narcotic, and intoxicating effect. As such it was regarded as a divine power, and as in Mexico and Peru the octri and similar intoxicating plants were deified, so in India and in Persia the Soma, identical with the Zoroastrian Haoma, was regarded as a god. Before the end of the Rv., the yellow plant became esoterically identified with the yellow swelling and water-cleansed moon, and in some of the last hymns of the Rv., there is no question that Soma means the moon. From this time onwards Soma was thus used in two senses, either as the divine plant or as the moon-god, until as in the epics, unless specified as the plant, the word Soma means the moon.

In the Br. P., Soma is considered as the moon and is the son of Atri. An interesting story is told about its birth. The sage Atri practised a penance called anuttara for 3,000 divine years. During that period, his virile-semen rose upward and came out of his eyes and began to brighten the ten directions in the form of the moon. When the Moon was thus falling, Brahmā placed him on his chariot and the sons of Brahmā as well as other sages began to worship him. Being pleased, he spread his lustre in all directions for the welfare of the world and went round the world 21 times. At that time from his lustre, corn and such other things as maintained the world were created. Then the moon practised penance for many years and Lord Brahmā being pleased with him made him the king of herbs, seeds, water and brāhmaṇas (IX.1-12). Elsewhere it is said that he was made the king of sacrifices and penances (4.2). Then the moon performed a Rājasūya in which he gave a dakşinā of lakhs of things. The nine goddesses Sini, Kuhū,

<sup>118</sup> ERE. Vol. II, p. 808. b.

<sup>119.</sup> E. Thurston, Castes and Tribes of S. India 124:13993 Foundation USA

Dyuti, Puşţi, Prabhā, Vasu, Kirti, Dhṛti and Lakṣmī attended on him and he worshipped all the gods and sages (9.13-17). He was married to the 27 nakṣatras, daughters of Dakṣa, i.e., the 27 mansions of the moon and their children were of immeasurable lustre. (3.59). Elsewhere it is said that Soma married Auṣadhis (a.119).

The Br. P. relates the following story about Soma. He abducted Tārā, the wife of Bṛhaspati. Uśanas, the teacher of the asuras and the enemy of Bṛhaspati, Rudra and Aṅgiras sided with Soma in his conflict with the gods. Soma was finally compelled to give up Tārā. After some time she gave birth to a boy whose parentage was doubtful; and she declared, when pressed that he was the son of Soma. The boy was named Budha (the Planet Mercury), who afterwards married Ilā, the daughter of Manu. Their son was Purūravas with whom the lineage of the lunar kings begins (9.18-36). Bṛhaspati cursed the moon with a spot and a crooked form (152.27-29).

Soma is once said to be amṛta and the Br. P. states that one who takes a bath and gives dāna at Somatīrtha goes to heaven (119. 19). An interesting story (a.105) has it that Soma was in the possession of gandharvas. The gods wanted it and so gave Saraswatī to the gandharvas and took Soma from them. Afterwards Saraswatī also returned to the gods without the permission of the gandharvas and the Br. P. lays down a rule that as Saraswatī—'speech'—had returned to the gods without the knowledge of the gandharvas, under the effect of Soma, one speaks slowly.

The moon plays an important part in ancient belief about life after death. The souls of the dead are supposed to go to the moon. At full moon, the moon sends some spirits to the world of Brahmā Devayāna – and sends the rest as rain down to the earth to be born again —Pitryāna. 120

Though he was a deity of great holiness, he seems scarcely to have received popular worship as a separate god; at least no temple seems to have been dedicated to him. 121

Viśvakarmā: Viśvakarman, 'all-creating', appears as the name of an independent deity, to whom two hymns (Rv. 10.81.82)

<sup>120.</sup> Deussen, Eng. Trans., System Des vedanta, 1833, pp. 392, 409, 475.

<sup>121.</sup> EREO Vol. Hyp. 805 Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

of the last book of the Rgveda are addressed. In the Brāhmaṇas, (SB. 8.2.1.10; 3.13; AB 422), Viśvakarman is expressly identified with the creator Prajāpati, while in post-Vedic mythology he appears, doubtless owning to the name, as the artificer of the gods.

In the Br. P. he is called the best among the architects (50.40.43). He constructed the idols of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā, for the king Indradyumna (50.48). He protected the sacrifice of Dakṣa (108.19,20).

Trașțā: He is one of the obscurest members of the Vedic pantheon. He is a skilful workman producing various objects showing the skill of an artificer. (Rv. I-85, 9, 3.54.12). In the Br. P. he is said to have constructed the whole city of gods for the sage Atri. He is there called the creator of beings, all-pervading and Viśvakarmā (140.12.18). In the Rgveda he is also the ancestor of the human race in so far as his daughter, Saraṇyā, wife of Vaivasvat, becomes the mother of the primeval twins Yama and Yamī (10.17. 1.2; 5, 42.13). In the Br. P. too, he assumes the role of a practical father advising his daughter Samjñā to go back to her husband Sūrya (6.16, 89.10). Since Tvaṣṭā pared the sun on his lathe and lessened his brilliance, he is called Prajāpati (6.39, 89.42).

Asvins: Next to Indra, Agni and Soma, the twin deities named the Asvins are the most prominent in the Rgveda. Though they hold a distinct position among the deities of light and their appellation is Indian, their connection with any definite phenomenon of light is so obscure, that their original nature has been a puzzle to Vedic interpreters from the earliest times. This obscurity makes it probably that the origin of these gods is to be sought in a pre-Vedic period. 123

The Asvins have lost, in brahmanical mythology, whatever cosmical element they had in the hymns of the Rgveda. They continue to be regarded as beautiful youths (6.45) and physicians (6.44). The anecdote from the Br. P. (6.41-45) regarding their birth from the nostrils of Sūrya and Samjūā, relates how they have come to be called. Another epithet applied to them is Dasra (6.44). In the Rgveda also both epithets Dasra 'wondrous' and nāsatyā are

<sup>122.</sup> Macdonell, Vedic Mythology, p. 117.

<sup>123.</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 49 CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

applied to them, the latter generally explained as 'not untrue' (Naasatya) but other etymologies, such as the 'savers' have been proposed. These two epithets in later times became the separate proper names of the Aśvins. Elsewhere it is stated that they were created in the river Godāvarī from the mouths of Sūrya and Uṣā (89.36).

Śanaiścara: Śanaiścara is said to be the son of Sūrya and Chāyā (6.20, 89.14), and is said to have obtained the position of the planet-Saturn (6.50). It is said that he killed the demons Aśvattha and Pippala who troubled people in the form of brāhmanas (a. 118). References to Śani are met with in other works also. 125

Varuna: Varuna is the greatest of the Vedic gods besides Indra. He dates from an early period, for in name he is probably identical with the Greek 'Ovpavos,' and in character he is allied to the Avestic Ahura Mazda. In the Vedas, he is the chief upholder of the moral and physical order (Rv. 8.42.1, 7.61-4, 5.62.1). With the coming into prominence of Prajāpati as creator and supreme god in the later Vedas, the importance of Varuna waned, till in the post-Vedic period he retained only the dominion of the waters as god of the sea.

In the Br. P. he is said to be the lord of the waters and his daughter was married to king Janaka. He seems to be a great philosopher for he gave a discourse on the comparative superiority of enjoyment and liberation to king Janaka and sage Yājñavalkya (a.88). His constant association with Mitra in Rgveda is not much alluded to in post-Vedic mythology but in the Br. P. it is stated that Manu performed a sacrifice, with a view to obtaining a son. He offered an oblation in the name of Mitrāvaruṇa and a maiden, Ilā, arose from the sacrifice who married Budha and propagated the lunar race (7.3-6). The Br. P. relates the story of how on account of the fear of the daitya Mahāśani, Indra agrees to serve Varuṇa. The demon Mahāśani defeated Indra and went on to conquer Varuṇa who gave him his daughter Vāruṇī and saved

<sup>124.</sup> ibid.

<sup>125.</sup> Vişnudharmottara I. 106; Kālikā 18; Skanda 5.2.50; Markandeya 105.25; Padma P. Uttara Khanda 33.

himself. Further on Varuna's request he released Indra on the condition that thenceforth Indra should be ready to serve Varuna (a. 129). Elsewhere Vāruņī is said to be the goddess of wine and Varuna advises her to go to Balarāma whose favourite drink was wine and Balrama, it is said, after drinking her dragged the river Yamunā with his plough. There she is addressed as Madirā or one who is the beloved at all the times (198.1-5). Varuna possesses a miraculous umbrella which pours down rain and the Br. P. states that earlier it was in the possession of the demon Naraka. Kṛṣṇa killed him and got the umbrella (202.10, 34). He is called a king (88.9) an epithet frequently used in the Rgveda<sup>126</sup> and it is said that Varuna sent a garland of unfading flowers to Balarama (198, 16).

Vāyu: Vāyu, the god of wind, is not a prominent deity in the Rgveda, and under his more anthropomorphic form, he is chiefly associated with Indra. Since the invisible element of wind does not lend easily itself to anthropomorphism, scarcely any myths are told of Vāyu; nor did the god receive popular worship. In the Br. P. it is said that on being asked by Kṛṣṇa, he brought the 'Sudharmā Sabhā' from Indra for the king Ugrasena (194.14-17).

Hanuman: With the monkey-god, Hanuman, Indra claims to be the chief home of the cult of monkeys. It has been argued that this cult has been borrowed from some tribes. There are no traces of worship of the monkey in the Veda, except for a stray reference to Vrsākapai (Rv. X.96) which may be regarded as a common name given to monkeys. 127

In the Br. P. Hanumān is said to be the son of Vāyu (157.22). Rāmachandra calls him his brother and asks him to dispose of the Sivalinga established by him (157.11, 22). Elsewhere it is said that Hanuman was the son of Vayu and Anjani who was the wife of the monkey Kesari and who by her best limb also was a monkey originally. She was a nymph but through the effect of a curse she was deformed. Hanuman takes her to the river Godavarī and she

<sup>126. 24.7.8, 10.132.4, 2.27.10, 5.85.3. 7.87.6.</sup> 

<sup>127.</sup> cf. the conflicting views of Bergaigne, La Religion Vedique, ii.270-272; Oldenberg, Religion des veda, 172-174; Geldner, Vedische studien, il. 22-24; Hillebrant, Veische Mythology, iii. 278.

regained her original form (84.2, 3, 17). There Hanuman is called Vṛṣākapi.128

Nandi: Nandi, the divine bull, is the vehicle of Lord Siva and his idol is always placed facing Siva in the temples constructed in honour of Lord Siva. In the Br. P. it is stated that he carried away the divine cow but on being asked by the gods, he returned them (91.6-9).

Kubera: Kubera is mentioned in the Atharvaveda as chief of the 'good people' (Punyajana), or the other people (itarajana) and as concerned with acts of concealment. In the Satapatha Brāhmana and in later Vedic texts he is mentioned as king of the rākṣasas, and in the Taittiriya Āranyaka (1.316) he is mentioned as the lord of wishes and as possessor of a wonderful car (apparently the later Puşpaka). In later mythology, he is the king of the yakşas as well as of the kinnaras and guhyakas, while the rākṣasas are the subjects of his half-brother, Rāvaņa.

According to the Br. P. Kubera is the son of Viśravas, grandson of Pulastya, Prajāpati's son (97.2, 15). It is said that Viśravas had two wives and by the former he had one son, Kubera. The second wife was a Rākṣasī, and by her he had three sons,—Rāvana. Kumbhakarna and Vibhīṣana. Kubera was the lord of Lankā and possessed the aeroplane which was given to him by Lord Brahmā. but being advised by the mother, Rāvaņa fought with Kubera, defeated and expelled him from Lanka, and made it his own capital. Kubera, then by the advice of Pulastya, went to the river Gautami and worshipped Lord Siva and obtained from him the boon of becoming the lord of treasures (a.97). References to Kubera are met with in other works also. 129

128. For details regarding Vṛṣākapi vide Shah U.P. "Vṛṣākapi in the Rv." JOI, Vol. VIII, No. I, (Sept. 1958).

129. Bhāgavata IX. 2.32-33; IV. 1.37; 11.33; X. 50-56, I.93. IV. 12.1-9, Vāyu 40 8, 47.1, 70.38, 97.2, 69.196, 70.41; Brahmāṇḍa 11.18. 1-2, 35.94, 36.218, III.7.254 and 331, 8.44, 72.2, IV. 15, 22; Matsya 121.2-3, 137.32, 148.84, 150.50-108, 153.179, 180.62, 47.30, 55.32, 189.4.11, 191.85, 261.20.2, 133.63, 138.25, 140.41, Mbh. Vana 275, 276; Udyoga 136; Salya 48.47; Sabha 10, Rāmāyaņa Aranya 15.22; Uttarakānda 13; 15; Devī Bhāgavata 12.16;

Padma, Svarga 16; 3; Bhavisya, Brahma 124. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

SAGARA: He is the god of the sea, the lord of rivers and jewels. The mountains, the demons and nectar are held by him. Lord Vişnu resides with Lakşmī in the ocean and nothing is impossible for him (172.6, 7, 9, 10). It is said in the Br. P. that the river Ganges divided herself into seven parts and merged in the

### GODDESSES

The Br. P. does not propagate Saktism as a cult but eulogizes Pārvatī and refers to Laksmī, Saraswatī, Ausadhīs, Mātrs, Yogamāyā, Suvarņā, Aditi, Subhadrā, Virajā, Mātā and other goddesses. It deals at great length with the river-goddess Godāvarī.

In Vedic literature down to the Grhyasūtras no female goddess of predominant power is mentioned. Such names as Rudrānī and Bhavani are available but they do not show a belief in the existence of independent powerful goddess. But we see that one whole hymn is addressed to Durgā in the Mbh. (Bhīşmaparvan, Ch. 23) which shows that at the time it was inserted in the Mbh., Durgā had acquired the importance of a powerful goddess. In the Br. P., it is said that Sakti is the mother of Brahmā, Vișņu and Mahesa (131.47).

### Pārvatī

Siva's consort Rudrāņī or Mṛdānī is known by many names as Devī, Umā, Gaurī, Pārvatī, Durgā, Bhavānī, Kāli, Kapālinī, Cămundă and others. She is a very prominent figure in classical mythology.

According to the Br. P., Pārvatī, in her former birth, was the eldest among the eight daughters of Dakşa, and was known as Satī. She was married to Tryambaka and when her father did not invite her husband to his sacrifice, she felt insulted and threw herself in the fire and died. 130 Himālaya practised severe penance and obtained Satī as his daughter. As she observed several fasts, Menakā tried to draw her away by the word 'U ma' and thenceforth she

130. 34.9-26; 109.1-11; Padma, srşti khanda 29, 5, Siva P. Satarudriya Samhita 3, 25; Bhāgavata Sk. 4, a.5; Devī Bhāgavata 7.30, Skanda 6.77; Vāyu 1.30; Kālikā 18; Naisadha IV. 45.

was known as Umā. 131 She practised severe penance in order to was known as a husband. Once Lord Siva took an ugly form and attain Siva as a husband, the knew his identity the new his identity the long to the long attain sive as the but she knew his identity through yogic powers appeared before her but she knew his identity through yogic powers appeared dollar (35.1-7). Lord Siva created an illusion before and welcomed him (35.1-7). Lord Siva created an illusion before and welcome and alligator of a child struggling to be released from an alligator. The Parvau of alligator agreed to release the child on condition that she should alligator age that see should give the merit of her penance to him. When Parvatī expressed her willingness to do so the alligator released the child and showed her willings form (35.35-61). The svayamvara of Umā with Siva was celebrated with great pomp and all the gods participated in it (a.36,a.72). Siva's wooing and wedding of Parvati and their conjugal life and conversation are often narrated at great length, yet always in a wholly human fashion.

In the Br. P. Siva himself eulogizes Pārvatī. It is said that when the evil factors like sin, greediness, poverty, moha and other worldly pains superseded in the world lord Mahadeva was astonished and asked Pārvatī to find a solution. At that time, she was called Lokamātā, the protector of all, the highest successor of all the essence of prosperity and the pratistha of the world. also called Bhūgā, Samādhi, Vāṇī and Buddhi. She is beginningless and endless; and in the form of Vidyā she protects the three worlds. On being thus addressed, Parvatī smiled and merged half of her body into that of Siva. Her equality of rank with her husband is expressed in the dual form of Siva, viz, the Ardhanārīśvara, of which one half is male and another half is female. She then sprinkled the ground with the perspiration of her fingers and from it were manifested Dharma, Laksmī, dāna, the highest type of rain, the quality sattva, corn, flowers, fruits, sāstras, weapons, tirthas, forests, and the moving and the nonmoving worlds (129.70-80).

She is the cause of the creation of the three worlds and is the mother of gods and asuras. She is called Para Prakṛti in the Purāņa (36.24-26). She is of the form of Prakṛti and helps lord Siva, the cause of the world, in creation as his wife (36.41-42). This has been supplied with a philosophical justification, being a popularized version of the Sānkhya principle of the union of the soul of the universe—purusa—with the primordial essence—prakrti. On this theory, the belief is more closely connected with Saivism

<sup>131. 34.78-98.</sup> *Brahmānda* III. 10.8-13; *Vāyu* 72.7, 11-2. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

than with any other religious system, originates in philosophical brāhmanism, and traces back its history through brāhmanism to the earliest Vedic conceptions. Pārvati is called Buddhi, Prajñā, Dhṛti, Medhā, Lajjā, Puṣṭi and Saraswatī (71.21-23). She is also called Bhavānī (109.52).

As Siva is the lord of the mountains (Girīśa), so is his spouse the lady of the mountains—Pārvatī. According to Purānic mythology she is the daughter of Himālaya, but in the Kena Upaniṣad, where she is first mentioned, Umā Hemavatī, appears as a heavenly woman, conversant with Brahman. Apparently, she was originally an independent goddess, or at least a kind of divine being, perhaps a female mountain-ghost haunting the Himalayas who was later identified with Rudra's wife. A similar mountain-goddess had her home in the Vindhyas, she was of a cruel character, as a goddess of the tribes living in those hills. Her name is Vindhyavāsinī and she too is identified with Siva's wife. It can safely be concluded that several goddessess from different parts of India and worshipped by different classes of people have in course of time, been combined into one great goddess, the spouse of Siva, adored as his Sakti or energy. 133

## Lakşmi

She is the consort of Lord Viṣṇu, but she seems originally to have been an independent deity impersonating beauty and wealth. According to classical mythology, she rose from the ocean when the gods and demons churned it for making nectar and thence she was made over to Viṣṇu.

According to Br. P. a great quarrel took place between Lakşmī and the goddess of poverty called dāridrā regarding superiority over each other. Daridrā accuses Lakşmī of always being associated with sinners, wicked men, political personalities, cruel, piśunas, greedy, anārya, kṛtaghna violators of righteousness and traitors. Also that Lakṣmī is of a fickle nature, popularly known as fortune, the fickel goddess who stays long nowhere. At the end of this quarrel the river Godāvarī declares the superiority of Lakṣmī over

<sup>132.</sup> Monier Williams, Brahmanism & Hinduism, 80. ff.; H.H. Wilson, op. cit. i.24.14; Wadell, Buddhism of Tibet, p. 129, f.

<sup>133.</sup> ERE., Vol. II. p. 813.

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Daridrā and states that nothing is possible without her and that she pervades everything in the world. She pervades all the splendour like Brahmāśrī, Tapahśrī, Yajñaśrī, Kīrti, Dhanaśrī, Yaśahśrī, Vidyā, Prajñā, Saraswatī, Bhukti, Mukti, Smṛti, Lajjā, Dhṛti, Kṣamā, Siddhi, Tuśṭi, Puṣṭi, Śānti, Mahī, Ahaṃśakti, Auṣadhīs, Śruti, Vibhāvari, Dyaus, Jyotsanā, blessings, fortune, Vyāpti, Māyā, Usā and Śivā (a.137).

# Saraswatī

From being a river goddess in the Rgveda, she became the goddess of wisdom and eloquence and as such she is most frequently invoked by the poets of classical Sanskrit literature. She has been identified with vāc 'speech' and as such she is the wife of Brahmā.

The Br. P. relates that Saraswatī secretly slept with Purūravā, and had a son Sārasvata by him. When Lord Brahmā came to know about this he cursed her to change into a river but on her pleading, the curse was modified so that she would be seen at some places and would not be seen at others. But the Br. P. calls her the daughter of Brahmā and the divine river (a.101). Once the gods played a trick on the Gandharvas by taking from them Soma in exchange for Saraswatī and afterwards taking her away too.<sup>134</sup> She is regarded as their guardian deity by the people of Kashmir.<sup>135</sup>

## Yogamāyā

It is related in the Br. P. that Viṣṇu descended into the Pātāla and asked Nidrā to keep the six sons of Hiraṇyakaśipu with the foetus of Devakī so that they would be killed by Kaṃsa. After they had been killed the seventh child would be born of Lord Viṣṇu's own aṃśa and would be known in the world as Saṅkarṣaṇa as he was to be taken to Rohiṇī's foetus after dragging him out of Devakī. Lord Viṣṇu would take birth as the eighth child of Devakī on the eighth day of the black half of Śrāvaṇa and he instructed Yogamāyā to take birth as the daughter of Yaśodā on the ninth day. She would be carried away by Vasudeva and Kaṃsa would throw her, on a slab of stone and she would attain her original place. Lord

134. A. 105, cf. Aitereya Brāhmaṇa, I.27.
135.0. Stein, Kalhana's achronicles of Kashmir, ii. p. 286.
136.0. Stein, Kalhana's achronicles of Kashmir, ii. p. 286.

Indra would consider her as his sister. Then she would kill Sumbha and Nisumbha and thousand other daityas and she would be worshipped at many places (A.181.31-48).

She is called Yoganidra, Mahamaya of Lord Vişnu, Bhūti, Sannati, Kīrti, Bānti, Prthivī, Dhrti, Lajjā, Puşti, Uşā, Ajyā, Durgā, Vedagarbhā, Ambikā, Bhadrā, Bhadrakāli, Kṣemyā and Ksemamkari. She was worshipped with wine and meat and she always fulfilled the desires of men (181.37, 49.53). In the Harivamsa a similar account is given.

#### Subhadrā

Subhadrā is the sister of Vasudeva, has a rkma colour, is beautiful and has all good qualities. In the Br. P. she is worshipped along with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. The colour of her idol is golden. She has eyes like the lotus, she wears clothes of variegated colours and is decorated with ornaments. She goes everywhere. She is called Kātvāvanī, Jagaddhātrī, Varadā, Sivā and is engrossed in the welfare of all beings.

#### Aditi

She is a purely abstract deity in the Rgveda whose main characteristic is the power of delivering one from the bonds of physical suffering and moral guilt. 136 She, however, occupies a unique position among the abstract deities owing to the peculiar way in which the personification seems to have come about. She is the mother of the small group of deities called Adityas, often styled 'sons of Aditi'.

In the Br. P. it is said that she is the daughter of Dakşa and was married to Kasyapa (3.25, 51). But according to the older mythology of the Rgveda (2.27.1) Aditi is the mother of Daksa as an Aditya, though in a cosmogonic hymn, (10.72.4, 5) she is said to be his daughter as well as his mother by the reciprocal generation which is a notion not unfamiliar in the Rgveda. 137 In the Br. P. also she is said to be the mother of the twelve Adityas, viz., Vişņu, Sakra, Aryamā, Dhātā, Tvastā, Pūşan, Vivasvān, Savitā,

<sup>136.</sup> Rv. I.24.15, 4.12.4, 5.82.6, 2.27.14; 7.93.7; 10.87.18.

<sup>137.</sup> Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 121.

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Mitra, Varuṇa, Aṃśa; Bhaga (3.57, 58). When the demons defeated her sons she prayed to lord Sūrya and obtained him as her son Mārtaṇḍa after practising severe penance (a.32). The demon Narakāsura had robbed Aditi of her earnings. Lord Kṛṣṇa defeated Narakāsura and deprived him of the earrings. He then went to the heavens and returned the earrings to Aditi. Thereupon Aditi granted him a boon that he would be invincible in the world and to Satyabhāmā he granted another boon that she would never age or grow ugly (203.22-24). These and other myths are found in other works as well. 138

### Gāyatrī

In the Br. P. it is stated that she is the mother of all the Vedas. She is very holy and destroys sin (67.17). Gāyatrī is a mantra<sup>139</sup> dedicated to the Sun and is to be recited in sun-worship. She is the first of the metres.<sup>140</sup>

# Virajā Mātā

In the Br. P. it is said that Virajā Mātā is the mother goddess Brahmāņī and she resides in the Virajakşetra in the Utkalapradeśa. One who worships her saves his seven generations and goes to Brahmaloka (42.1-2).

#### Kşudhā

The literal meaning of Kşhudhā is hunger. The Br. P. states that this goddess emerged out of the mouth of death. She has a terrible form. Her nature is constituted of anger and she torments sinners (85.8-14).

138. Vajasaneyī 29.60, 13.43, 49; Taittiriya 7.5.14, Av. 13.1.38, Mbh. Vana 135; Anuśāsana 83, Udyoga 48; Bhāgavata VI.6.25,18.9; 6.38-39; XI.1.10; VIII.13.6; VIII.Chs. 16 & 17, VIII.18.1-12; X.3.42, 59.39, Brahmānḍu II. 33.17; III.3.56, 117; 71.200; III.72.22; 73-75; III.7.277-94, 465; Viṣṇu F.15. 124, III.1.42, Matsya 172.5; 138.20; 171.55-8; VIII 23.4, 21, 27. 244.9-48; Vāṇu 96.46; 66.55; 69.92

139. Rv. iii.62.10—tat savitur varenyam bhargo devasya dhimahi dhiyo yo

nah pracodayāt.

140. Mbh. 14.44.5.f. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

## Auşadhis

In the Br. P. it is stated that they are the mothers of the world. The sacrifice, svādhyāya and religion are established in them. All diseases are removed by them. They produce food and protect animals (119.1-4). They have the form of Brahmā and Prāna (120.10). Soma is their husband.<sup>141</sup>

#### Mātṛs

The Br. P. states that at the time of war between the gods and the demons, drops of perspiration fell from Siva's body and from them the Mätrs emerged. The place where they emerged was called Mätrtirtha and they were worshipped by gods and men. They killed all the daityas and they are worshipped along with Lord Siva (112 12, 13).

In general it is said that the goddesses Śraddhā, Puṣṭi, Tusti, Śānti, Lajjā, Saraswatī, Bhūmi, Dyaus, Sàrvarī, Kṣānti, Uṣā, Āśā, Jayā, Mati, and others attended the sacrifice of Dakṣa (.09 15, 16) and the goddesses Sini, Kuhū, Dyuti, Puṣṭi, Vasu, Kīrti, Dhṛti, and Lakṣmī attended the Rājasūya sacrifice of Soma (9.16). The goddesses Kīrti, Prajñā, Medhā, Sarasvatī, Buddhi, Mati, Kṣānti, Siddhi, Mūrti, Dyuti, Gāyatrī, Sāvitrī, Maṅgalā, Prabhā, Kānti, Nārāyanī, Śraddhā, Kauśikī, Vidyuti, Saudāminī, Nidrā, Rātri, Māyā, surrounded Lord Viṣṇu (68.56-58).

#### Gautami

The Br. P. establishes Godāvarī as the Ganges of the south. It devotes a long portion consisting of 105 adhyāyas (a.70.175) to the glorification of the river Gautamī. In the Vedic literature, the river Godāvarī is not referred to. There are numerous references to Godāvarī in the epics and the Purāṇas but it is in the Br. P. that Godāvarī and the subsidiary tīrthas on it have been lauded at great length. The Br. P. generally refers to Godāvarī as Gautamī. It is stated by the Br. P. that the Ganges to the South of the

<sup>141.</sup> Also cf. Brahmāṇḍa III. 1.28, IV.7.72; 14.6;20.46, Matsya 93.53, 179.9-32, 41.39.

<sup>142</sup>c-Kane R. Nya HDS havol Concepton New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

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Vindliya mountain is called Gautamī and that to its north is Bhāgīrathī (78.7). It is said to be 200 yojanas long and there are three crores and a half of tīrthas on it. (77.8-9). A bath in the Godāvarī when Jupiter enters the sign of Leo has been regarded even up to the present day as very meritorious. The Br. P. says that three crores and a half of tīrthas that exist in the three worlds come for a bath in the Godāvarī when Jupiter is in Leo and that bathing in the Bhāgīrathī every day for sixty thousand years confers the same boon as a single bath in the river Godāvarī when Jupiter is in the Zodiacal sign of Leo (175.83, 84; 152.38, 39). Jupiter is in Leo for one year once in twelve years. Crowds of pilgrims throng at Nasik in their thousands from all parts of India in the Siṃhastha year. 144

The Br. P. eulogizes Gautami in the following way. She is called Pāvanī, Paramārtihāriņī, Śreyaskarā, Pāpapratardinī. Śāntirūpā, Śāntikarī, Mangalā, Śubhā. Aghanāśinī (85.8-10). She is Jalodbhutā and Maheśvara-jalodbhavā (85.8). She is called Dāridryanāśinī (85.16) and she is also called Brāhmī, Maheśvarī. Vaisnavī and Tryambakā (85.12, 13). She is the beloved of lord Siva and is held by him on his head. She is the goddess of rivers, destroyer of sins, is worshipped by the three worlds, gives the desired fruits, is Brahmamayi, and emerges out of the feet of Visnu and the locks of the hair of lord Siva (119.9-12). She is a boat in crossing the meaningless world (131.29). She is Viśveśvari, Yogamāyā and Abhayadāyinī (131.30). She is Devanadī, greater than the great and lord of the world. She is worshipped by Brahmā, Isa and others and sins are destroyed by remembering her (72.3-6). She purifies the three worlds, has a divine form, applies divine ointments, and is called Saraswatī, Jagaddhātrī, Jagajjādyaharā, Viśvajananī, and Bhuvaneśvarī (164.43.45).

Various anecdotes are related to glorify the river Gautamī. Once the gods sent Agni to inform Lord Siva of danger of the demon Tāraka to himself. At that time Lord Siva was in privacy with Pārvatī and in his great wrath. Siva threw his virile-semen into Agni who threw it into two parts in his wife from which the twins Suvarṇa and Suvarṇā were born. As there was the 'Anyonyaretavyati-ṣaṅgadoṣa' in the case of the twins, they took the forms of various

<sup>143.</sup> Dharmasindhu, p. 7.

<sup>144.</sup> Kane P.V. applicate Pollection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

gods and goddesses and enjoyed freely with them. On seeing this, the gods approached Agni and all of them worshipped the river Gautami and the children were cleansed (a.128). Again on praying to the river Gautami, a brahmin Ajigarta was released from hell when he had sold his son Sunahsepa due to his inability to maintain the family (a.150). A brāhmaņa Sanājjāta was enjoying with his mother Mahl, both being unaware of the identity of each other. When the sage Gālava revealed their relationship, both of them went to the river Gautami and purified themselves by taking a bath in it (92.2-48). A bird Ciccika had two mouths on account of the bad deeds in its past birth and had no happiness in the present birth. The king Pavamana took it to the river Gautami and by giving it a bath in it, enabled the bird to go to heaven (a.164). A brahmana Gautama was freed from the sin of gambling in the same way (a.170). Madhucchanda, a purohita of the king Sarvati revived king Saryāti by praying to Gautamī (a.138). A hunter who had killed a female-pigeon went to heaven in a flying vehicle after taking a bath in the river (a.80). Even such grave sins as adultery with the wife of one's teacher are expiated by taking a bath in the river Gautami. Lord Indra was freed from the sin of brahmana-murder by the sprinkling of the water of the river Ganga (a.96). Prthuśrava, son of Kaksivan, got freedom from his triple debts by taking a bath in the river Gautamī (a. 9).

The river Gautamī is also said to lessen the effects of a curse. .The sage Gautama had cursed his wife Ahalyā to become a dry river as Indra had slept with her by taking the form of the sage Gautama but Ahalyā regained her original form on joining the river Gautamī (a.89). Añjanī and Adrikā, the mothers of Hanuman, were deformed on account of some curse. They got back their original beauty by praying to the river Gautamī (a.84). A Havyaghna, who had become black on account of some curse, regained his complexion on being sprinkled by the water of the river Gautamī (a.133). Kasyapa had cursed his wives Suparņā and Kadrū to become rivers as they had violated his instructions to be observed during their pregnancy. On praying to the river Gautamī, they regained their original form (a.100). Kadrū was in addition cursed with blindness as she laughed at a sage during a sacrifice. She too regained her eyesight by the grace of the river Gautamī (a.100).

Gautamī is said to fulfil all wishes. Harşana, son of Sūrya and Chāyā, worshipped Gautamī and made his parents happy (a.165). A brāhmaṇa Vṛddhagautama had married a lady older than himself. As some sages made fun of them they prayed to the river Gautami and she became younger (a.107). The Auşadhis got their desired husband Soma on worshipping the liver Gautami (a.119). Once the Angirasas started practising penance but as they had not taken the permission of their mother before starting it, their penance was not fruitful. They then, worshipped the river Gautamī and became the Vyāsas (a.158). By praying to Gautamī, Pramati released his father from prison (a.171) and Lord Visnu killed the demoness Kankalini who was troubling Asandiva (a.167). By worshipping Saraswatī on the bank of the river Gautamī. Parasu went to heaven (a.163). The river Gautami declared the superiority of Lakşmī over Daridrā when there was a dispute between them (a.137). She also granted a boon to Kanva that no one will suffer from hunger in his family (a.85). The dana given at Daśāśvamedha-tīrtha on the banks of Gautamī results in endless merits (A.83).

#### Demons

Probably the earliest Sanskrit expression for a 'demon' is asura and though this word is used in later literature as a general term for demons of a malignant disposition, it was originally restricted to beings of a god-like nature, and even applied to the gods themselves. In the Rgveda, the word asura is used as an epithet of Rudra and other deities and is a especial attribute of the ancient deity Varuṇa, who is first an impersonation of the vault of heaven, and then identified with the supreme being. In Avesta, Ahura is the name of the highest god. In the Taittirīya Saṃhitā it is said that Prajāpati created them with his breath. In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa the seventh Manu is made to produce gods, asuras and men. On the other hand, in the Vedas various orders of evil beings are spoken of under the names of dasyūs, (3.4.56) rākṣasas, (Rv. 7.104, 10.87) yātudhānas, (Rv. IV.87) pišācas, (Rv. 1.133) and panis. 145

145. Rv. 6.20.4; 39.2; 10.108; 7.9.2; 4.58.4; 1.151.9.

The Br. P. recognizes four types of demons, viz., daityas. dānavas, rākṣasas and asuras. The sons of Diti were called daityas and those of Danu were called danavas. Apart from these other demons who are not the progeny of either Diti or Danu, have also been given the names of daityas and danavas, e.g., Arista is called a Daitya (189,46-58) and the demon Mitha though not mentioned in the genealogy of Danu is designated as danava (127.7-8) Sometimes a demon is called daitya as well as asura, e.g., Sambara is called the lord of daityas (134.16) as well as an asura (199.12)

The genealogy of daityas and danavas is given in the Br.P. as follows: Diti. the daughter of Daksa, was married to Kasyapa and she had two sons Hiranyakasipu and Hiranyaksa and a daughter. Simhikā, who was married to Vipracitti. Hirnyakasipu had four sons, Hrāda, Anuhrāda, Prahrāda and Samhrāda. Hrāda had two sons Siva and Kalā. Prahrāda was given the kingdom of daityas and dānavas (4.5). Virocana was born to Prahrāda and Bali was the son of Virocana. Bali had a hundred sons of whom Bana was the eldest. They practised penance and the names of some of them were Dhṛtarāṣtṛa, Sūrya, Candramā, Candratāpana. Kumbhanābha, Gardabhāks and Kukṣi. The sons of Hiranyākṣa were learned and strong. Their names were Bharbhara, Sakuni, Bhūtasantapana, Mahānābha<sup>146</sup> and Kālanābha. Samhrāda gave birth to Nivātakavacas, and they had three koti sutas and resided at Manivati. They too were indestructible by the gods and eventually Arjuna killed them (3.90-92).

Danu gave birth to a hundred sons by Kasyapa. They were brave, strong and practised penance. The names of some of them were Dvimūrdhā, Sankukarņa, Hayaśiras, Ayomukha, Sambara, Kapila, Vāmana,147 Marīci, Maghavān, Ilbala, Svasruma, Vikşobhana, Ketu, Ketuvīrya, Satahrda, Indrajit, Sarvajit, Vajranābha, Ekacakra, 148 Tāraka, Vaiśvānara, Pulomā, Vidrāvaņa, Mahāśiras, Svarbhānu, Vrşaparvā and Vipracitti. As the progeny of all these is innumerable it is indescribable. The daughter of Svarbhānu was Prabhā, that of Pulomā was Šacī; that of Hayasiras was Upaditi; that of Vṛṣaparvan, Śarmisthā and those of Vaiśvānara Pulomā and Kālikā.

<sup>146. 3.73;</sup> Mahābhāga acc. to 'kha'.
148. After Vāmana, the 'kha' MS. adds Mūka, Hunda, the sons of Hārda, Marica, Sunda, Saramāna & Sarakaika.
148. 3.77, 'Ekavaktra' according to MS. 'kha'.
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The progeny of Marīca consisted of 60,000 dānavas and there were other 1,400 dānavas belonging to Hiranyapura. These along with Paulomas and Kāleyakas were also indestructible and by the grace of Lord Brahmā, Arjuna killed them. Vipracitti, the son of Danu, married Siṃhikā, the daughter of Diti and by the saṃyoga of daitya and dānava elements thirteen best types of dānavas were born. They were very brave and were called Siṃhikeyas. They were called Vaṃsya, Śalya, Nala, Vātāpi, Namuci, Ilbala, Svaśruma, Añjika, Naraka, Kālanābha, Śaramaṇa and Svarakalpa. They had a hundred thousand grandsons. Though the abovementioned sons of Diti are called daityas, the maruts whom Diti gave birth to were called gods, and though originally they were meant to kill Indra (3.109-122), eventually they became the greatest helpers of Indra.

Elsewhere it is said that at the time of milking the earth, Madhu was the milcher of asuras, their milk consisted of Maya, Virocana was their calf and their vessel was made of iron; the milcher of rākṣasas was Rajatanābha, blood was their milk, Sumālī their calf and a skull their vessel (4.104, 106). There is no clear line of demarcation to distinguish groups of rākṣasas, asuras, piśācas, etc., though the piśācas are too mean and low to be confused with demons of the highest type. The nāgas, though distinct from the asuras, are as a group affiliated and usually mentioned alongside.

The meaning of the terms daityas, dānavas, rākṣasas and asuras as given by Monier Williams is as follows. The rākṣasas¹⁴² are sometimes regarded as produced from Brahmā's foot, sometimes with Rāvaṇa as descendants of Pulastya, elsewhere they are styled children of Khasa or Surasā; according to some they are distinguished into three classes, one king of a semi-divine benevolent nature and ranking with yakṣas, etc., another corresponding to titans or relentless enemies of the gods; and a third answering more to nocturnal demons, imps, fiends, goblins, going about at night, haunting cemeteries, disturbing sacrifices and even devouring human beings. This last class is the most commonly mentioned. Their chief place of abode was Lankā or Ceylon. The dānavas are a class of demons often identified with the daityas or

asuras and held to be implacable enemies of gods or devas. The daityas are known as the sons of Diti and the asuras are regarded as children of Diti by Kasyapa. As such they are demons of the first order in perpetual hostility with the gods, and must not be confounded with the rākṣasas or imps who animate dead bodies and disturb sacrifices. The

As regards their general description it could be said that they were ugly and deformed. The names Sankukarņa (a.3), ekākşa (213.90) etc., suggest that they were deformed. Many a time they were animal-shaped: the names Kürmakukkuţavaktra, Saśolūkamukha, Kharoştravadana, Varāhavadana, Mārjāraśikhīvaktra. Nakramesanana, Gojāvimahīsanana, Godhāśallakivaktra, Krostuvaktra, Ākhudarduravaktra, Vrkamukha, Makaravaktra, Krauñcavaktra, Aśvānana, Kharamukha, Mayūravadana, etc., suggest this (213-93-97). They lived in Rasātala, mountains, oceans, rivers, villages. forests, sky, air and Jyotirloka (149.4,5). They wore various types of dresses and decorated themselves with garlands and used ointments. They wore diadems, earrings, turbans, kirița and wore the skin of elephants and black deer. They were also called nīlakavāsas. They had wide cheeks. They wielded various weapons like śataghni, cakra, muśala, bhindipāla, aśva yantras, āyudhas, śūla, ulūkhala, parašvadna, pāša, mudgara, parigha and great slab stones. They had long hair, their necks were like kambu and some of them were lustrous (213,90-99).

Some daityas were religious. The Br.P. states that the great demon Bali was indestructible and that he protected the kingdom with righteousness and there were no troubles in his kingdom. He was a great devotee of Viṣṇu and when the gods approached Viṣṇu to protect them from Bali, Viṣṇu said that Bali was too dear to him to be killed and therefore Lord Viṣṇu took the form of Vāmana and made him the king of Rasātala (a.73). Some demons practised severe penance. Hiraṇya, the ancestor of the daityas practised great penance and got the power to remain indestructible by the gods (139.11, 12). Meghahāsa, the son of Rāhu, practised severe penance in order to avenge the death of his father who was killed by the gods when he tried to acquire a portion of the nectar

<sup>150.</sup> ibid., p. 474.

<sup>151.</sup> ibid., p. 497.

<sup>152.</sup> ibid., p. 121. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

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that was obtained from churning the ocean. The gods pacified him and placed Rāhu in the sky and made Meghahāsa the king of Nairrta direction (a.142). By the power of penance, the demon Hiranyakasipu had made himself invincible; Lord Viṣṇu had to take the form of Nṛṣiṃha to kill him (a.149).

The main work of the demons was to obstruct the sacrifices of sages, kings and gods. Thus Sindhusena, a great demon, defeated the gods and carried away the sacrifice to Rasatala. Thereupon Lord Vişnu took the form of Varāha, killed him and brought back the sacrifice (79.8-15). A demon Hiranyākşa obstructed with his retinue the sacrifice of king Priyavrata; thereupon the sage Vasistha killed them with his rod (a.103). Mārīca and Subāhu obstructed the sacrifice of brāhmanas, so Rāma killed them (213. 138). The rākṣasas, Aśvattha and Pippala, were the sons of the rākṣasa Kaiṭabha. They obstructed the sacrifice of Agastya, took the form of brahmanas and devoured the other brahmanas. Lord Sami found out their trick and using the same principle ate them up (118.11, 12). The danava Mitha obstructed the sacrifice of king Arstisena and carried away the king together with his retinue to Rasatala. Thereupon Devapi, the son of purchita, prayed to Lord Siva and brought them back (a.127). The tendency to obstruct sacrifices went to such an extent that a demon was named Havvaghna and he was granted a boon by Brahma to devour any sacrifice at will. His whole family was black in colour by the curse of lord Brahmā. When he obstructed the sacrifice of the sage Bharadvāja and ate the sacrificial cake, Bharadvāja asked him about his blackness and on learning from him about the curse sprinkled the water of river Gautamī and gave him back his fair skin (a.133).

The demons were in state of continuous war with the gods. They were generally very strong and the gods were always defeated. Indra felt helpless before the strength of the demons and had to seek the protection of Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva. Thus the demon Tāraka obtained a boon from Lord Brahmā that he would remain invincible. Even Lord Viṣṇu expressed his inability to defeat him. Thereupon the gods approached Himālaya and with the help of Kāmadeva disturbed the penance of Lord Śiva and married Śiva with Pārvatī, the daughter of Himālaya, and requested them to create a son who would kill the demon Tāraka (a.71). Another story tells how Mahāśani defeated Indra and asked his father Hirarya to look after him.

offered him his daughter, and on Varuṇa's advice, he released Indra and ordered Indra to consider Varuṇa his lord. This shows how powerful the demons were and how Indra had to agree with them (a.129). Namuci was a great enemy of Indra and there was a terrible fight between them. Indra eventually cut off the head of Namuci with foam (129.4-6). a daitya, Ambarya, was also invincible. He was the lord of Daṇḍaka. He possessed a strong army and a terrible fight ensued between him and lord Nṛsiṃha at the end of which Nṛsiṃha killed him (149.10.12). As a boon was granted to Rāvaṇa, he was unconquerable by gods, rākṣasas, yakṣas, rakṣas; he was very brave and was always surrounded by a koṭi rākṣasas. He was black as collyrium and brave as a lion (213. 129-135).

Disturbing the penance of some sage was also considered the work of the demons. A great asura took the form of a beautiful maiden and dsturbed the penance of king Dhanvantari (12.8-15). When Brahmā sent his Māyā to distract the attention of the demons who were obstructing the sacrifice of the sages, Sambara, the lord of the daityas, devoured her (134.9-11). There was another rākṣasa named Paraśu. He had a deep hatred for sacrifices and brāhmaṇas. He had the capacity to take various forms according to his liking. Sometimes he took the form of a brāhmaṇa, sometimes a tiger, sometimes a god, an animal, a woman, a deer, or a child. He took the form of a brāhmaṇa and went to the sage Śākalya and expressed his desire to devour the sage but he saw Lord Viṣṇu in the form of the sage and refrained from killing him (163.7-10).

Sometimes the gods befriended demons. An interesting story relates how after killing Namuci, Indra befriended Maya, the brother of Namuci by the use of a trick. Maya who wanted to avenge his brother's death, now advised Indra to pierce the foetus of Diti which contained a son who was meant to kill Indra (a.124). Rāvaņa was a great devotee of Lord Śiva (a.143). Bāṇa was a great devotee of Śiva and when Kṛṣṇa came to fight with Bāṇa, Śiva and Kārtikeya fought on behalf of the asura Bāṇa (a.206).

In his life Kṛṣṇa, had to face many demons. In his childhood, he killed Pūtanā, a demoness who killed children (184.7-10). Again, he killed the demon Ariṣṭa, who had come to him in the form of a bull (189.46-58). He also killed Keśi (190.29-37) and Dhenuka (186.4) the donkey-shaped crio The asara Naraka was born to Pṛthvi

by Lord Viṣṇu in his Varāha incarnation (220.23). Lord Viṣṇu killed him in his incarnation as lord Kṛṣṇa and took away all his possessions and married all his 16,000 wives (220.30.35). Narakāsura was very powerful. He was the king of Prāgjyotiṣapura. He had imprisoned the daughters of the daityas, siddhas and kings, and had in his possession the chhatra of Varuṇa, the Maniparvata, the Mandāra mountain, and the ear-ornaments of Aditi (202.8-11). Again, Lord Kṛṣṇa killed the daitya Mura and his 7,000 sons, Hayagrīva and Pañcajana (202.18-19). Lord Kṛṣṇa killed another demon by the name of Pañcajana who had carried away the son of sage Sāndipanī to the ocean and after killing him made a conch, Pañcajanya out of his bones (194.27,28). Pradyumna, the son of Lord Kṛṣṇa, killed the asura Śambara who had thrown him in the ocean after the sixth day of his birth (200.2,3,19).

Elsewhere it is said that Vișnu in his different forms killed the various demons, Hiranyakasipu (180.28), Tāraka (179.21-24). Kālanemi (179.25), Vipracitti (180.29), Madhu and Kaitabha who wanted to kill Brahmā and who had emerged out of his ear (180. 37). Kalanemi was again born as Kamsa, the son of Ugrasena who was killed by Kṛṣṇa (a.181). In his incarnation as Rāma. Lord Visnu killed the demons Yamahasta, 153 Prahasta, Nikumbha. Kumbha, Narantaka, Yamantaka, Maladhya, Malikadhya, Indraiit. Kumbhakarna and Rāvaṇa (176.44-46). As Rāvaṇa had become too impudent on account of a boon, Rāma killed him (213.137). Rāma freed Virādha and Kabandha from their state of being demons as they had obtained that form due to a curse though originally they were gandharvas (213.140). In his Vamana incarnation, Lord Vișnu killed the demons Vipracitti, Siva, Sanku, Ayahsanku, Ayahsiras, Asvasiras, Hayagrīva, Ketumān, Ugra, Vyāghra, Puskara, Aśvapati, Prahrāda, Kumbha, Samhrāda, Salabha, Kupatha, Krodhana, Kratha, Brhatkīrti, Mahājihva, Sankukarna, Mahāsvana, Dīptajihva, Arkanayana, Mīgapada, Namuci, Sambara, Viksara, Garistha, Varistha, Pralamba, Naraka, Indratāpana, Vātāpi, Ketumān, Asilomā, Pulomā, Bāṣkala, Pramada, Mada, Svamiśra, Kālavadana, Karala, Keśī, Ekākşa, Candramā, Rāhu, Sambara, Svana and others (213.82-90).

Thus it could be said that the Br.P. gives a fairly broad idea of demonology as it deals extensively with the danavas Hiranyaka,

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Mitha, Dhenuka, Pralamba and Lavaņa; the daityas Bali, Tāraka, Māya, Namuci, Hiraņya, Šambara, Hiraņyakašipu, Āmbarya, Madhu, Kaitabha, Keši, Pañcajana and Mura; the rākṣasas Sindhusena, Aśvattha, Pippala Havyaghna, Rāvaṇa, Paraśu, Virādha, Kabandha; and the asuras Tama, Namuci, Sambara and Naraka.

#### Sages

The Br.P. states that there were different groups of sages in different manyantaras. Thus it relates that the seven sons of Brahmā, viz., Marīci, Atri, Angirā, Pulaha, Kratu, Pulastya and Vasistha were the sages of the Svayambhuva manyantara and they resided in the northern direction (5.8,9). The maharsis of the Svārocişa manvantara were Aurva, Stamba, Kaśyapa, Brhaspati, Datta, Atri and Cyavana (5.11,12). In the Uttama manvantara, the sages were the seven Vasisthas, the sons of Vasistha, and Urias. the sons of Hiranyagarbha (5.16,17). The sages of Raivata manavantara were Devabāhu, Yadudhra, Vedaširas, Hiranyaromā, Parjanya; Urdhavabāhu, the son of Soma; Satyanetra, the son of Atri (5.20,21). The sages of the fourth, i.e., Tāmasa manvantara were Kavya, Pṛthu, Agni, Jahnu, Dhātā, Kapivān, Akapivān (5.25,26). The sages of the sixth, i.e., Cākṣuṣa manvantars were Bhrgu, Nabha, Vivasvān, Sudhāmā, Virajā, Atināmā and Sahisņu (5.29,30). The sages of the Vaivasvata manvantara were Atri, Vasistha, Kasyapa, Gautama, Bharadvāja, Visvāmitra, Jamadagni (5.34,35).

The Br.P. then states that the sages are meant for the maintenance of dharma and protection of the world. At the end of every manvantara, four sages go to Brahmaloka while four others take their place (5.39-41). Further it enumerates the would-be sages of the future manvantaras. The sages of Sāvaṛṇī manavantara would be Paraśurāma, Vyāsa, Ātreya, Aśvatthāmā, the son of Droṇa born in the Bharadvāja family; Śaradvān born in the family of Gautama, Gālava born in the Kausika family and Aurva, the son of Kaśyapa (5.43-45).

Some sages were very learned, and had studied all the śāstras. Thus Vyāsa is highly eulogized. About him it is said that he was well-versed in all the śāstras, an expert in the Vedas and Vedāngas, the composer of the Mahābhārata, the composer of the Mahābhārata, the speaker of Purānas and

Agamas, engrossed in the welfare of all beings, meditating on Agamas, and the best among the intelligent (26.6,7). He knew the past, the present and the future (26.26). He is also praised for composing the Br.P. (a.245). The great sages (26.9-14), like Kasyapa, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Vasistha, Jaiminī, Dhaumya, like Kasyapa, Vālmiki, 155 Višvāmitra, Šatānanda, Vatsya, Gārgya, Asuri, Sumantu, Bhārgava, Kanva, Medhātithi, Māndavya, Cyavana, Dhumra, Asita, Devala, Maudgalya, Tṛṇayajña, Pippalāda, Samvarta, Kausika, Raibhya, Maitreya, Hārita, Sandilya, Vibhānda, Durvāsā, Lomasa, Nārada, Parvata, Vaisampāyana, Gālava, Bhāskarī, Purāṇa, Sūta, Pulastya, Kapila, Ulūka, Pulaha, Vāyu, Devasthāna, Caturbhūja, Sanatkumāra, Paila and Kṛṣṇa went to sage Vyāsa to solve doubts about worldly troubles. Elsewhere (a.145) it is said that the sages Mārkaņdeya, Bharadvāja, Vasistha, Atri, Gautama, Yājnavalkya, Jābāli and other munis were the propagators of sastras and proficient in the Vedas, Vedāngas, Purānas, Nyāya and Mimānsā. They discussed with Lord Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Siva whether karma was higher or jñāna was higher and came to the conclusion that as nothing can be attained without performing an action, karman should be given prime importance. Again it is said that when the munis killed king Vena as he had behaved in an unrighteous way, the sages Vāmadeva and others approached sage Kapila who was a knower of the highest essence, engrossed in penance and vrata and who was cruel as well as kind-hearted and asked him what they should do. The sage advised them to cut the arm of Vena out of which Pṛthu, the righteous, would be created (a.141). The Apastamba asked a very interesting question to the sage Agastya (130.5-14) as to who among the three gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Siva was the highest. Sage Agastya's remarkable answer establishes the identity and non-difference of the three gods and thus blends the theories of many gods with the theory of one god, and concludes by saying that the forms of the three gods are different and the Vedas are the authority on this but regarding the formless, there is only one, non-dual, and no other. Still, however, for the sake of achieving success, one should worship Lord Siva. Once it is asserted that the sages Sanaka and others know the inner secret

<sup>154.</sup> Missing in MS. 'kha'.

<sup>155.</sup> The sages after sixalmiki are missing in MS. 'kha'.

154. The sages after sixalmiki are missing in MS. 'kha'.

of Vedānta (129.69). Bāhlīka, the son of Kaņva, was well-versed in the Vedas and the Vedāngas (148.4). Sunaḥśepa, the son of Ajīgarta, was a knower of Brahman (151.3). The god Dhanvantari was born to Dhanu as a result of severe penance and he learnt the Ayurveda from the sage Bharadvāja and divided it into eight parts and taught it to his pupils (11.36-38). Elsewhere it is said that the sages like Vasiṣṭha, Jābāli, Yājñavalkya, Aṅgirā, Dakṣa, Mārīca who were devoted to Viṣṇu, others like Sātātapa, Saunaka, Devavrata, Bhṛgu, Agni, Veśya, Atri, Marīci, Manu, Gautama, Kauśika, Tumburu, Parvata, Agastya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Pippala and Gālava who were engrossed in the practice of yoga and the sages Vāmadeva, Angiras and Bhārgavas who were proficient in the Smṛti, the Sruti and the Purānas worshipped the river Godāvarī (154.2-4). The sage Sāndīpani was an expert in Dhanurveda and Lord Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma learnt it from him (194.22-25).

The sage Kapila was considered to be a manifestation of Lord Viṣṇu and the fire emanating from his eyes burnt the progeny of king Sagara (8.55,56). The sage Nārada was considered to be the best among the Devarşis (69.70).

The performance of sacrifice was one of the main functions of the sages. Thus many sages had gathered together in the Naimişa forest for the performance of the sacrifice that was to last for twelve years (I.11). The sage Atreya performed sacrifices with the help of many sages and at the completion of all of them, he obtained the power to move everywhere (140.2-4). The sage Bharadvāja performed a sacrifice and offered the sacrificial cake for the Agnişomīya and the Aindrāgna and then he transformed the black form of the demon Havyaghna by sprinkling the water of the river Gautamī on him. The sages Vasiṣṭha and others performed a sacrifice on the banks of the river Godāvarī (134.2).

Another most important function of the sages was to mind the welfare of the world. When being harassed by Rāhu, the sun was falling to the earth the sage Prabhākara blessed him and saved the world from the calamity of darkness (13.8-14). When it did not rain in the kingdom of Kāśī, the sage Śvaphalka was called and after his arrival, it began to rain (14.4-8). When the unrighteous Vena harassed the people, the sages killed him and created Pṛthu out of his right hand (4.42,49; 2.21). The mountain Vindhya was rising higher and higher and in order to avert the calamity, the sage Agastya went up to him and requested him sto promise not to

rise till his return. Ultimately he never returned and the mountain remained where it had stopped (118.3-5).

Sometimes the sages helped the gods. In the marriage of Lord Siva with Pārvatī, the sages Vasistha, Agastya, Paulastya and Lord Siva diagone to the Himavan mountain (72.3). The sages Māndavya, Vasistha, Gautama, Agastya, Atri, Kasyapa and others Manquaya, of the sin of brāhmin-murder. Dadhīci gave his bones to gods in order to prepare a weapon, out of them (a.110). Dadhīci was a great devotee of Lord Siva and was enraged when Dakşa did not invite him to his sacrifice (39.28,29). When Indra was dethroned for the third time owing to his undesirable union with Ahalyā, he went to the sage Brhaspati for advice (122.51). When Saramā lied about the theft of dogs to Indra, Brhaspati found out the truth and held Sarama to be the cause of it all (131 9-13). The sage Maudgalya was a staunch devotee of Vișnu and Visnu manifested himself to him every day (136.5,6). When there was a great famine in the world, the sage Gautama supported the world and the gods by the power of his penance (74.27-30). When Siva concealed the river Ganges in his locks, Pārvatī requested Skanda and Ganesa to find a way out by which Siva could be made to release her. At that time Ganesa thought that none was capable of bringing the Ganges down except the sage Gautama (74.39-42). Finally the sage Gautama prayed to Siva and brought the river Ganges to the earth (a.75).

The sages served as the purchitas or priests of the kings and advised them on all important matters. By the grace of the sage Vasistha, king Sagara obtained sons (78.10). By the favour of the sage Rşyaśrnga, king Lomapāda had a son, Caturanga (13.38) and king Dasaratha had his famous four sons, viz. Rāma and the others (123.84). All sages acted as purohitas at sacrifices and helped the kings. Thus the sage Kasyapa acted as a purohita in the performance of the ten Asvamedhas of king Bhauvana (82.3). Vasistha acted as a purohita in the sacrifice of king Priyavrata (103.3) and Dakşa (109.14) in the reign of the king Dasaratha (123.5). The sage Madhucchanda was a purohita in the reign of king Saryāti and he accompanied him when he started to conquer the world (138.3,4). When king Aila was distressed on account of the separation from Urvasī, the sage Vasistha consoled him (151-12-16). The sage Viśvāmitra taught Rāma and Laksmaņa the great, Promāheśvarīvidyā, olle dhanurvidyā, išastravidyā, astravidyā, laukikividya, rathavidya, gajavidyā, aśvavidyā, gadāvidyā and the recitation of mantras (123.97,98) and gave them divine weapons (213.142). By the advice of the sage Uttańka, the sons of king Kuvalāśva killed the demon Dhundhu and the sage Uttańka granted them boons (7.74-85). King Indradyumna performed a sacrifice with great pomp after calling the priests who were experts in the performance of sacrifice (47.35-36).

The lives of pious sages made a deep impression on the lives of people. The sages practised severe penance and restrained their senses. Thus the sage Atri practised penance called anuttara for 3.000 divine years and his virile-semen manifested itself in the sky in the form of the moon, and the tears falling from his eyes brightened the ten directions (9.2.6). Sage Viśvāmitra, the son of king Gādhi, was a great ascetic and he became a great brahmarsi (10.55-60). He had many famous sons like Devarāta, Kātyāvana, Hiranyākṣa, Renu, Renuka, Kacchapa and Hārita. They were the promulgators of the gotras Pāṇini, Babhru, Dhyānajapya, Pārthiya. Sālankāyana, Bāşkala, Lohitāyana. Harita and Sālankāyana and Bāşkala, Lohitayana 156 Harita and Aşţakādyajana (10.58-63). The sage Sākalya practised severe penance on the mountain Subhra (163.4). The siddhas like Sanandana and others meditated on Kṛṣṇa with concentration on the tip of their nose (193.42). There is an interesting example of the Angirasas who though they practised severe penance did not achieve success as they had not asked the permission of their mother before practising it (158.8-11).

The sages were unable to bear adharma and cursed those who stopped the proper path of action. Thus when Sāmba and his friends wanted to poke fun of the sages Viśvāmitra, Kaṇva and Nārada and had dressed Sāmba in the role of a pregnant woman, the sages cursed that Sāmba would give birth to a mūsala which would bring disaster to the whole Yadu family (a.210). Another anecdote says that when the nymphs Rambhā, Tilottamā and others pleased the sage Aṣṭāvakra, he granted them a boon that they would get Lord Puruṣottama as their husband but when they laughed at his crooked limbs, he cursed them that they would be carried away by the dasyūs (212.79-84). When Indra cohabited with Ahalyā after taking the form of her husband Gautama, the

<sup>156.</sup> The name Lohitāyana and the following are according four Sucka A

sage Gautama cursed him to have a 1,000 signs of the female sage of the female organ on his body and cursed Ahalyā to become a dry river (87. organ on his Kārtavīrya gave his whole kingdom in dana to Agni and Agni devoured it. In this disaster, the hermitage of the sage Apava was also burnt, so he cursed Kartavirya that he would be killed by the ascetic brāhmaṇa, Paraśurāma (13.192-197). When Pippala, the sister of Viśvāvasu made fun of the sages at a sacrifice, they cursed her to change into a river (132.3). Kadru was cursed to lose one eye as she poked fun at the sages (.00.28).

Sometimes the gods had to intervene in the affairs of the sages. Thus when Soma carried away Tārā, the wife of sage Bṛhaspati,

Lord Brahmā brought about a reconciliation (9.19-25).

Many a time the sages grew jealous of each other and great rivalry arose among them. Thus the rivalry between the sage Vasistha and the sage Viśvāmitra is well-known (147.5). A sage Kanva was very envious of the prosperity of sage Gautama and he prayed to the river-goddess Godavari in order to attain prosperity (a.85).

About the sages Vasistha, Atri, Pulastya, Angira, Pulaha, Kratu, Bhrgu and Marici who were the sons-in-law of Daksa, it is said that they were great religious yogins, observers of vratas who meditated on Brahman (34.16, 17), and about the sages Bhrgu,

Atri and Pulaha that they worshipped sun (33.17).

Some sacred places were ascribed to the rsis. Thus Prabhasa, Bhārgava, Agastya, Nara, Nārāyana, Vasistha, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Kasyapa, and Manu were called the arşatīrthas after

the names of the sages (70.37,38).

Various anecdotes are given in the Br.P. regarding different sages. Thus it is said that in the marriage of Lord Siva with Pārvatī, Brahmā's semen-virile fell on seeing the beauty of Pārvatī and from it the sages Valkhilyas were created (72.18,19). The sage Atri obtained the power to move everywhere at will by the performance of sacrifice, and he went to Indraloka. He then asked Tvașță to build, a similar Indraloka for himself. He enjoyed his pleasures but when he was confronted by the troubles of the dānavas, he requested Tvastā to destroy the Indraloka (a.140). Elsewhere it is said that Atri worshipped Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśvara and requested them to be his sons. Later on they were born to him as Datta, Soma and Durvāsā (a.144), The sages Angirasas sayed people when the earth devoured them (155.4).

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Lord Visnu protected the sage Markandeya at the time of the great deluge (a.53). By the grace of Lord Siva, the dead child of the sage Kapālagautama was brought back to life (59.8). The sage Yājñavalkya had discussions with king Janaka ragarding bhukti and mukti (88.5-15). When Brahmā created Ahalyā, he had a problem before him as to who should be given the charge of bringing her up. He selected the sage Gutama and later on married Ahalya to him (87.5,6,29). The sage Gālava was well-versed in the Vedas and the Vedangas and he showed the proper way of behaviour to Sanājiāta and his mother (92.40,41). The sage Māndavya consecrated Indra in the country of Malava (96.18,19). King Hariscandra asked the sages Nārada and Parvata about the importance of a son in one's life (104.4-14). The sage Veda was a great devotee of Lord Siva (169.4). The seven sages came with their wives to see the merging of the river Ganga into the ocean (a.172) and divided the river Ganga into seven parts and called the seven parts after their seven names, viz., Vasisthī, Dāksiņeyī, Vajsvāmitrī, Vāmadevī, Gautamī, Bharadvājī, Ātreyī and Jamadagni (173.3-5). The sage Viśvārmitra explained the philosophy of karma to Viśvarūpa (173.10-25). Lord Viṣṇu in his incarnation as the sage Dattātreya taught the astānga yoga to the sage Alarka (183.32,32). The sage Vasistha drank the semen-virile of Siva and deposited it in the six wives of the seven sages excluding Arundhati. wards a child with six faces was born who later on killed Tāraka (82.1-12). When the sage Jāhnu did not accept the river Gangā as his wife, she drowned the sacrificial altar of the sage. Thereupon, the sage was full of wrath and decided to drink up the Ganges, but on being requested by other sages, he accepted her as his daughter and she was thereafter known as Jāhnavī (10.14-21, 13.82-88).

Thus the gods, the goddesses, the demons and the sages constituted the belief-system of the Puranic Hindus which represented their hopes and aspirations, fears and frustrations, and provided variegated sources of norms, values and ethics for the functioning of a highly pluralistic society.

A belief system, however, acquires its meaning and function through the practices of the believers. The next chapter describes the religious practices as depicted in the Br.P.

## PRACTICES

THE religious practices of the Puranic Hindus were confined to idol worship, sacrifices, śrāddha, penance, pilgrimage, vratas, dāna and samskāras.

# Worship

The Br. P. describes in detail the worship of Lord Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā as practised in Orissa. It states that in Bhāratavarşa, there is a country called Ondra situated on the shores of the southern ocean, which extends northwards from the sea up to Viraja Mandala (28.1-2). In that country there is a holy place which destroys sins, bestows liberation, is surrounded on all the sides by sand and is ten yojanas in extent (42.13.14). On account of the grace of the all-pervading lord Jagannatha, the holy shrine of Lord Purusottama is situated in the country of Utkala (42.35-37). Men who reside in Utkala are holy since the Lord Purusottama resides there. Chaps. 43 and 44 narrate the story of how the images of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā came to be established in Jagannāthapurī. It states that there was a pious and learned king called Indradyumna who ruled at Avanti in Mālavā. read the Vedas, Sastras, the epics, the Puranas and the dharmasastras and came to the conclusion that Vasudeva was the highest deity and started from his capital Ujjayinī with a vast army, servants, priests and artisans and came to the shores of the southern sea. He saw the ksetra of Vasudeva, ten yojanas in breadth and five yojanas in length and encamped there. At that time there was a vata tree on the shores of the southern sea near which there was an image of Purusottama or Jagannātha made of CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

sapphire (45.71,78.3) covered up by sand and concealed by creepers and plants. King Indradyumna performed Aśvamedha there, erected a great temple and was anxious to establish a suitable image of Vasudeva in the temple. In a dream, the king saw Vasudeva who told him to go alone to the shore in the morning and cut the vaṭa tree growing along the water-line with an axe. The king did so in the morning and then two brāhmaṇas, who were really Viṣṇu and Viśvakarmā, appeared. Viṣṇu told the king that his associate will manufacture the image. Three images of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā were made and were given to the king. The king then established the three images in the temple built by them.¹

The Br. P. relates the mode of worshipping Lord Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā. A pilgrim who bows to the image of Garuḍa situated in front of that of Kṛṣṇa is freed from sins and goes to Viṣṇuloka. One should circumambulate the temple of Jagannātha three times. Then he should worship lord Balarāma with a specific mantra² and worship Kṛṣṇa with the twelve-lettered mantra.³ It is said that one who worships Kṛṣṇa with the above mantra gets liberation (57.30). Having recited the manṭra he should praise Kṛṣṇa, and the Br. P. further states that on seeing Kṛṣṇa he will receive various rewards like the merit of a thousand Aśvamedhas, of snāna and dāna at all the tīrthas, of the performance of all the sacrifices, of the observance of the regularities of all the four āśramas and finally liberation (57.41-51). After this is done one should worship the goddess Subhadrā with a separate mantra.4

- 1. Hunter gives a somewhat different account based on *Kapila samhitā*, vide his 'Orissa', Vol. I, pp. 89-94; also cf. *Nāradiya* P., Uttarārdha, 52.41-93, 53-57, 58.1-21, 60-4; vide also 'Jagannāthapuri and Orissa' in Gujarati by Dr B.G. Sandesara.
- Namaste Haladhrugrāma namaste Muśalāyudha, namaste revatīkānta namaste bhaktavatsala. namaste Balinām śreşiha namaste dharanīdhara Pralambāre namastestu trāhi mām kṛṣṇapūrvaja.
   (57.22-23).
- 3. Om namo Bhagavate Vāsudevaya.
- Namaste sarvage devī namaste šubhasaukhyade, trāhi mām padmapatrākşi kātyāyani namoštu te, (57.58).

The temple of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā is bright like heated gold. It is decorated with jewels and banners. It is surrounded by palaces and has four doors. It is surrounded by seven cities. The first is made of gold, the second is of marakata, the third of sapphire, the fourth of mahānīla, the fifth of padmarāga, the sixth of vajra and the seventh of vaidūrya 68.38-42). On the purnimā in the nakṣatra jyeṣṭhā of the month of Jyeṣṭha, the bathing ceremony of Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā takes This was considered a great festival and the Br. P. relates how it was celebrated. A high platform was constructed and it was decorated with clothes, flowers and dhupa and a white cloth was spread over it. Musical instruments were played and the · Vedas were recited, camaras were waved and divine beings prayed in the sky. Amidst all this the bathing ceremony took place (a. 65). Ward<sup>5</sup> describes the rites of the snāna-yātrā of the lord and the ratha-yatra. In the festival held in the month of Jvestha. in the midst of an immense concourse of spectators brahmanas bathe the god by pouring water on his head amidst incantations. The worshippers prostrate themselves before the image, and depart after being assured by the priests that they will not be subject to rebirth, but be admitted to heaven after the death of the body. About seventeen days after this rite, the ratha-yātrā is performed. After being worshipped the idol is placed in an enormous car. Jagannātha is accompanied by his brother, Balarāma, and his sister, Subhadrā. As these idols are moved, an attendant fans them with the tail of a Tibetan cow. The object of the procession is that the triple deity should visit the temple of god Rādhāvallabha. The visit lasts eight days and the gods then return to their own temple. The rite is said to commemorate the sports of Kṛṣṇa with the gopis.

Rajendralal Mitra<sup>6</sup> thinks that Purī was probably a Buddhist sanctuary and that the three crude wooden images of Kṛṣṇa, Subhadrā and Balarāma correspond to the three peculiarities of Buddhism, viz., Buddha, Dharma and Samgha. This view, however, seems to be far-fetched. Sewell7 thinks that the celebrated

<sup>5.</sup> Hindoos Part, II 164 ff.

<sup>6.</sup> Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II, pp. 122-126; cf. also Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, pp. 510-511.

<sup>7.</sup> Sewell, J.R.A.S., Vol. 18 at p. 402 (New series). CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

image of Jagannātha was originally one of the Triśūlas or developed

Tauras symbols.

Raiendralal Mitra<sup>8</sup> notes that the oldest temple in Puri is that of Alabukesvara built by Lalatendu Kesari (A.D. 623 677), the builder of the tower of Bhuvanesvara. The next oldest is Markandesvara and next comes the great temple of Jagannatha Manmohan Chakravarti<sup>9</sup> quotes two verses from the Gangavamsa copper plates of Orissa which state that Gangesvara alias Codaganga built the great temple of Purusottama. As Codaganga's coronation took place in Saka 999 (i.e. A.D. 1078), he comes to the conclusion that the temple of Jagannatha was built about A.D. 1082-1090. D.C. Sircar<sup>10</sup> points out that the celebrated Oriya Chronicle Madala Punji attributes the construction of Purusottama Jagannātha not to Codaganga but to his great grandson Anaigabhīma II, who also installed an image of Purușottama in a temple at Vārāņasi-kaṭaka which was decorated by Sultan Firozeshah. These Ganga kings built magnificent temples at Bhuvanesvara (ancient Ekāmra), Konarka, and Puri, which are the finest surviving specimens of North Indian Hindu architecture. Mitra<sup>11</sup> and Hunter<sup>12</sup> note that Anangabhīma wanted to surpass the grand tower of Bhuvanesvara and renovated the temple of Jagannātha in Saka 119, i.e. A.D. 1198. Kane holds that the holv place of Purușottama was called Nīlācala in very ancient times, that Kṛṣṇa worship was introduced from northern India to that place, and that the three images of wood were established in comparatively early times. 13 In the Maitrayani Up.I.4, a king Indradyumna is named among a host of cakravartins.

#### Purușottama Worship

The Br. P. states that one should visit the twelve holy places situated in the Utkala Pradesh. On the completion of the twelve pilgrimages one should go to a holy stream on the eleventh day of

8. op. cit., Vol. II, p. 112.

Paper on the date of Jagannātha temple in Puri, J.A.S.B., Vol. 67 for 1898, Part I, pp. 328-331.

<sup>10.</sup> God Puruşottama at Puri, J.O.R. Madras, Vol. 17, pp. 209-215.

<sup>11.</sup> Mitra, op. cit. Vol, II, pp. 109-110.

<sup>12.</sup> Orissa Vol.I, pp. 100-102.

<sup>13-0</sup> HPS Valva War Shaps Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Practices

the bright half of the month of Jyestha and should take a bath with a disciplined mind and perform the tarpana to the gods, the sages, the pitrs and other beings and repeat the Gayatri 108 times, and other Surya mantras and then one should bow down to sun (67.11-18). The details of worship were as described below.

After observing the required silence, one should wash one's hands and feet and sip the water. After that one should worship Lord Purusottama according to the proper rites by which the lord should first be bathed with ghee followed by pouring milk, honey fragrant ointments and candana and water of holy tirthas. The lord should then be covered in two garments and anoints of candana, agaru, karpūra and kesara should be applied on him, and offerings of lotuses and mallika flowers be made. The fragrant dhūpa of agaru, guggula and other fragrant incenses should be burnt and lamp of ghee and oil and twelve lamps should be lighted. This should be followed by an offering of the naivedya consisting of milk-preparations, pudding, śaskulī, vaṭaka, sugar-balls, fruits and sugar. After this the Pancopacara should be done and worship Lord Purușottama 108 times with a mantra.14

The devotee should then worship the teacher, offer flowers to lord Vasudeva and keep awake the whole night. On the next day, he should invite twelve good brāhmaņas and after worshipping Lord Purusottama he should worship them and give them cows, umbrellas, shoes, money and clothes in dana. The priest among them should be given the daksina and a pot also. He should then circumambulate the brahmanas thrice, bid them farewell and go with them upto the boundary of the village. This is to be followed by a dinner to other relatives and beggars. Before this dinner a special mantra is to be recited.15 One who worships Lord Purusottama in this way obtains the merit of a thousand așvamedhas and a hundred rājasūyas and is borne in a flying vehicle to Vișnuloka (67.32-57).

# Nṛsimha worship

The Br. P. (a.58) describes at length the worship of lord Nrsimha in the Utkala Pradesh. It states that it is very difficult to describe

an dinidiano deva privatam Purusottamah. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vial Shashi Collection, New De (67.48) uized by S3 Foundation USA

Om namah Purusottamāya (67.20-31).
 Sarvavyāpi Jagannāthah śańkhacakragadādharah,

all the qualities of lord Nṛṣiṃha. One who wants to worship lord Nṛṣiṃha should eat either milk or vegetables, barley, fruits, roots, piṇyāka and saktuka. He should wear kaupīna and worship lord Nṛṣiṃha either in a forest, or in desolate places, on a mountain, or near the confluence of rivers, in a siddhakṣetra, in a desert, in the temple of lord Nṛṣiṃha or by himself erecting the image of lord Nṛṣiṃha and worshipping him. The procedure is as follows:

First one should circumambulate lord Nṛsiṃha and offer him fragrant gifts like camphor, candana, dhūpa and flowers (58.13). By doing so one is granted success. One should then utter the Nṛsiṃha-kavaca, which if recited once, protects one from all troubles; if recited twice, protects one from the disgrace of gods, demons, gandharvas, kinnaras, yakṣas, vidyādharas, uragas, bhūtas piśācas and rākṣasas; if recited thrice, it protects from disgrace of gods as well as demons. Lord Nṛsiṃha should be worshipped by kindling a fire with palāśa wood. After a pleasant stay in the Pātāla by the grace of lord Nṛsiṃha, one may come back with the deer-skin, guṭikā, kamaṇḍalu, akṣasūtra, a stick and siddhavidyā (58.24-47). By worshipping lord Nṛsiṃha one is freed of diseases like leucoderma, epilepsy, gaṇḍa and piṇḍa.

If the Nrsimha-kavaca is tied round the neck of a child, he will always be protected from diseases, if one offers fuel, ghee and milk in honour of lord Nṛṣiṃha three times a day for one month, he is freed from all diseases (58.48-49). One should prepare an idol of lord Nṛṣiṃha from the clay collected from seven valmīkas, a cemetery and the place where four roads meet. This clay should be mixed with red candana and the milk of the cow and from it the idol of lord Nṛsimha should be made. It should be six inches high. Then one should recite the 108 names of the lord and thereby get all the powers (58.50-55). Anyone who injures the idol perishes together with his family (58.57). One who repeats the name of lord Nrsimha for twenty lakh times on the twelfth day of the bright half becomes free from all the grave and lesser sins and attains liberation (58.22-23). Lord Nṛṣiṃha should be remembered at the time of battle. By his grace one gets rid of the fear of thieves, animals, poison, fire, water, kings, oceans, diseases and constellations (58.65, 67). The brāhmaņas, the kṣatriyas, the vaiśyas, the śūdras, women and the antyajas get freedom from sins and earthly troubles by worshipping lord Nrsimha (58.59-60). And by the same act one Cogets allardesired as objects; and goes to Visnuloka. After dallying there with the gandharvas and the apsarasas, he returns to the world to be born a brāhmaņa well-versed in the four vedas, and he learns the Vaisnava Yoga and gets liberation (58.69-77).

# Nārāyaņa worship

The Br. P. describes in detail the mode of Nārāyaṇa worship. As lord Nārāyana is the abode of waters he should be remembered at the time of taking a bath (60.34) and the recitation of the eightlettered mantra constitutes the chief part of Narayana worship.16

Then follows the rites of performing the nyāsa. The nyāsa of 'Om' should be made in the left foot, of 'na' in the right foot, of 'mo', in the left part of the waist, of 'na' in the right part of the waist, of 'ra' in the region of the navel, of 'ya' in the left palm, of 'na' in the right palm, and of 'ya' on the head. It is also said that one should perform the nyāsa of 'om' and 'na' in the thumbs the remaining fingers and the hands (60.36-39). Then one should recite the kavaca in the following way: "May Govinda in the east, Madhusudana in the south. Śrīda in the west, Keśava in the north, Viṣṇu in Āgneya. Mādhava in the Nairrtya, Hṛṣīkeśa in the Vāyavya, Vāmana in Išāna. Varāha on earth and Trivikrama in the heaven protect me" (60.41.42).

This should be followed by the recitation of a mantra.17 After that one should take a bath, recite the Vaidic mantras. din oneself three times in the water and recite the aghamarsana mantra. One should then do prāņāyāma, ācamana, sandhyopāsanā and worship lord Sūrya (60.46-50), reciting the Gāyatrī mantra one hundred and eight times along with other mantras related to Sürya. Then one should perform the tarpana of the gods, the sages, divine beings and pitrs (60.51-54). After that on the shore of the ocean one should make a four-sided mandala having four doors and in it one should make the figure of an eight-petalled lotus. Then one should recite the eight-lettered mantra in honour of lord Nārāyaṇa (61.1-3). Then follow the rites that purify the body. One should

<sup>16. &#</sup>x27;Om namo Nārāyaņāya' (60.23).

<sup>17.</sup> Tvamagnirdvipadām nātha retodhāh kāmadīpanaha, pradhānah sarvabhūtānām jīvanam prabhuravyayah, amrtasyāra ņitvam hi devayonirapām pate, vrjinam hara me sarvam tīrtharāja namostu te,

meditate on 'a' with its round line which destroys all sins. After that if one meditates on 'ra'18 thinking that it is situated in the middle of the candramandala, is white in colour and smears the world with nectar, one is freed of sins and gets a divine body. After that beginning with the left foot one should make the nyāsa of the eight-lettered mantra in all the limbs of the body (61.4-6). Then follow the rites of purification of the hand. With the help of the thumb, one should do the nyāsa of the eight-lettered mantra on one's eight fingers. First the nyasa should be done on the left hand and then it should be done on the right hand. On the left foot the nyāsa of white-coloured earth together with Omkāra should be done. The colour of 'na' is black and its deity is Sambhu. Its nvāsa is in the left foot, 'Mo' is of the nature of kāla and its nyāsa is in the left part of the waist. 'Ra' is of the nature of brilliance and its region is that of the navel. The deity of 'va' is Vavu and its nyāsa is in the left shoulder. 'Na' is all-pervading and its position is in the right shoulder. The position of 'ya' is in the head (61.8-12).

Then follows the Vaiṣṇavapañcāṅganyāsa¹¹¹ and the Caturvyū-hanyāsa.²¹ One should meditate on lord Nārāyaṇa in the following way: "Before me resides lord Viṣṇu and behind me resides lord Keśava, on the right side resides Govinda and on the left Madhusūdana, in the above portion lord Vaikuṇṭha and in the lower portion lord Varāha. In the middle portion resides lord Mahādeva. While moving, standing, waking and sleeping lord Nṛsiṃha protects me and lord Vasudeva constitutes my nature."

Then the lord should be worshipped with the twelve-lettered mantra (61.22), with a recitation of the āvāhana-mantra,<sup>21</sup> the

18. Instead of 'ra' the MS., 'ka' reads 'va'.

 "Om Visnave namah sirah, om jvalanaya namah, sikha, om visnave namah kavacam, om visnave namah sphuranam disovandhaya, om hum phat astram." (61.13)

20. Om širasi šukio vasudeva iti, om am lalāţe raktaḥ samkarṣaṇah garutmān vahnistejā āditya iti, om ām grivāyam pitaḥ pradyumnaḥ vāyumedhā iti, om ām hrdaye kṛṣṇoniruddhaḥ sarvaśaktisamanvita iti. (61.13).

 Minarupo varahaśca narasimhotha vāmana āyatu devo varado mama nārāyanogratah, Om namo nārāyanāya namah. (61.24) sthāpana mantra,22 the arghya mantra,23 the pādya mantra,24 the madhuparka mantra,<sup>25</sup> the acamaniya mantra,<sup>26</sup> the snana mantra,<sup>27</sup> madnuparka, the vilepana mantra, the upavita m the alamkāra mantra, 31 the dhūpa mantra, 32 the dīpa mantra, 33 and the naivedya mantra.31

The recitations should be followed by performing the nyāsa of Vasudeva in the eastern petal of the eight-petalled lotus, that of samkarşana in the southern petal, of Pradyumna in the western petal, of Aniruddha in the northern petal, of Varaha in the Agni direction, of Narasimha in the Nairrtya, of Mādhava in the Vāyavya, and of Trivikarma in the Isana. One should establish Garuda near the eight-lettered god. Similarly to his left should be established cakra and gadā, to his right śankha and the śāranga bow, and also the two divine weapons, and śridevi and puşțidevi.

- 22. Karnikāyam supīshetra padmakal pitamāsanam. Sarvasattvähitärthäya tistha tvam madhusüdana. Om namo nārāyaņāya namah (61.25)
- 23. Om trailokyapatinām pataye devadevāva. Hrsikeśāya visnave namah, Om namo nārāyanāya namah, (61.26).
- 24. Om pādyam pādayordeva padmanābha sanātana. Visno kamalapatrāksa grahana madhusūdana. Om namo nārāyanāya namah, (61.27),
- 25. Madhuparkam Mahādeva Brahmādyaih Kalpitam tava. Mayā niveditam bhaktyā grhāna purusottama, Om namo nārāyanāya namah, (61.28)
- 26. Mandākinyāh śitam vāri sarvapāpaharam śivam. Grhānācamaniyam tvam mayā bhaktyā niveditam (61.29).
- 27. Tvamāpah prthivī caiva jyotistvam vāyureva ca, Lokeśa vrttimätrena vārinā snāpayāmyaham. (61.30).
- 28. Devasattvasamāyukta yajňavarnasamanvita, Svarnavarnaprabhe deva vāsasī tava kesava. (61.31).
- 29. Śarīram te na jānāmi cestam caiva ca keśava, mayā nivedito gandhah pratigrhya vilipyatām. (61.32).
- 30. Rgyajuhsāmamantrena trivrtam padmayoninā, sāvitrigranthisamyuktamupavitam tavarpaye. (61.33).
- 31. Divyaratnasamāyukta vahnibhānusamaprabhe, gātrāņi tava śobhantu sālamkārāni mādhava. (61.34).
- 32. Vanaspatiraso divyo gandhādhyah surabhiśca te, mayā nivedito bhaktyā dhupoyam pratigrhyatam (61.36).
- 33. Śuryacandrasamo jyotirvidyudagnyostathaiva ca, Tvāmeva jyotişām deva dīpoyam pratigrhyatām. 61.37).
- 34. Annam caturvidham caiva rasaih sadbhih samanvitan, Coma ya nivetitam bhaktya naived yam Pava Resavac (61.38) Foundation USA

Then one should worship lords Indra, Agni, Vāyu, Yama, Nirīti, Varuņa, Vāyu, Kubera, Išāna, Ananta, and Brahmā with tantric mantras, and follow it with a recitation of the mulamantra either 108 or 128 or just 8 times. Then one should perform the eight mudrās, viz., padma, śańkha, śrīvatsa, gadā, garuḍa, cakra, khaḍga and śāraṅga (61.39.55). After the mudrās one should recite the visarjanamantra. Those who do not know the mantras should worship lord Vāsudeva with the mulamantra (61.57).

## Mahādeva worship

Dr Karmarkar has studied the aspect of linga worship fully and has come to the conclusion that the cult of linga and yoni as symbolizing the generative and reproductive aspects of nature had come into vogue during the proto-Indian period and moreover, both these elements were identified with the supreme being Siva and Amma, the mother goddess. The Br. P. gives an account of Lingodbhava when actually a quarrel for supremacy had arisen between Vişnu and Brahmā. This story is invented just to show and enhance the importance of Siva, and much more so, that of the linga (a.135).

The important places of linga-worship mentioned in the Br. P. are Rāmeşvara in the Utkalapradesh (a.28), the Mahākāla-linga in Avanti (a.43), a linga on the bank of the river Godāvarī near the Kārtikeyatīrtha (a.128) and at the Vāṇisaṃgamatīrtha (a.135), Kiṣkindhātīrtha (a.157), the linga known as Ṣiddheśvara at the Pūrṇatīrtha (a.122).

It would appear from the numerous references that during the time the Br. P. was composed, the linga worship was widely prevalent. The climax of devotion is shown when a hunter killed himself on seeing the linga of Lord Siva plunged in blood (a.169). The Br. P. further states the mode of worship as follows: After taking a bath, one should observe the vow of silence and keep the, senses well under control. Then one should go thrice round the temple, bathe Siva with ghee and milk and anoint him with fragrant candana and kesara, offering flowers, bilvapatras, and

<sup>35.</sup> Gaccha gaccha param sthänam puranapurusottama,
Yatra brahmādayo deva vindanti paramam padam. (61.56).
36.0 Karmarkar, A.F., The religions of India, Vol. 1, p. 85.

lotuses which are prescribed. Then follows a recitation of Vedic and tantric mantras, and the mulamantras consisting of more names. After that the dhūpa-dīpa and naivedya are offered and the musical instruments are played. It is said that one who worships Siva in this way goes to Sivaloka—the region covering a distance of two and a half yojanas surrounding lord Siva is supposed to bestow pleasure and liberation. In the Ekāmraka-kṣetra, Lord Śiva resides by the name of Bhāskareśvara and by worshipping Lord Siva there, one attains knowledge of the highest type of Yoga (41.55-86).

The Br. P. provides the mantras to be recited at the time of worshipping lord Siva. It says that one should go to the Mārkandeya stream situated in the Utkalapradesh, dip his head three times in it, face north, recite the mantra, 37 perform tarpana, go to the temple of Siva, worship him with the mulamantra38 or the aghoramantra<sup>30</sup> and again repeat a Puranic mantra.<sup>40</sup> Here too it is mentioned that by worshipping the Lord in this way, one gets the merit of performing the ten Asvamedhas, becomes free from all sins and goes to Sivaloka (58.2-25).

In Aundradesa, on the southern sea of the ocean Lord Siva resides by the name of Rāmeśvara. One who worships him with flowers, lamps, naivedya, pranāma, songs, and stotras gets the merit of Aśvamedha and Rājasūya and achieved highest success (24.56-59). In Avanti, he is known as Mahākāla. One who takes a bath at Sivakunda according to the proper rites and offers oblations to the gods and pitrs and goes round Lord Siva thrice with a disciplined mind and controlled senses, and offers worship to Siva with flowers, dhūpa, lamps and stotras gets the fruit of a thousand Aśvamedhas (43.65-70). By reciting the words 'Namah Śivāya', anger, fear, infatuation, ignorance, desire, poverty and unhappiness disappear

<sup>37.</sup> Samsārasāgare magnām pāpagrastamacetanam, Trāhi mām bhaganetraghna tripurāre namostu te. namah sivāya santāya sarvapāpaharāya ca, snānam karoti deveša mama nāšyatu pātakam.

<sup>38.</sup> Märkandesvaräya namah or om namah siväya.

<sup>39.</sup> The Tirthacintāmaņi of Vācaspati (p. 88) states that the aghora mantra is in Om aghorebhyo ghorebhyo ghoratarebhyah, sarvebhyah sarvagarvebhyah namastestu rudrarūpebhyah.

Trāhi mām tvam virūpākşa mahādeva namostue te. (57.7-8), also cf. 40. Trilocana namastestu namaste sasibhūşana,

CC-0 Narharya (Uttara) 155. 18-19 on, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

(177.1-17). He is worshipped by offering Pañcāmṛta and various types of food (122.195-206). The devotees invoke him by the sāmans like 'hāyi hāyi harē hāyi huvā hāva' (40.44). One who worships him begets sons (124.133). Lord Śiva is worshipped at all the tīrthas situated on the banks of the river Gautamī (As. 170-175). This worship also shows tantric influence.

## Sūrya worship

Among the orthodox Hindus, the sun has fallen from the high status which he had in Vedic times and has now become a mere godling—a minor god. He is, however, still worshipped especially in Bihar and among the non-Āryan tribes of the southern people.<sup>41</sup>

The Gāyatrī or sacred verse, which each brāhmaṇa must recite daily, is dedicated to him. Sunday is sacred to him and the Sundays of the month of Kārtika are specially set aside for his worship in Bihar and parts of Bengal. The great festival in his honour, known as Chathapūjā, is held on the sixth day of the bright half of Kārtika and after libations to the setting sun the ceremony is repeated on the following morning.

The Br. P. describes sun-worship in detail. It states that in Aundradesa, on the northern shore of the ocean Lavana, there is the famous shrine of sun by the name Konāditya (28.11, 18). Surya is worshipped by observing a fast on the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Magha with a restrained mind. After taking a bath in the ocean, one should remember the sun and perform the purificatory ceremonies of the morning. Then one should offer tarpana to the deities, men and pitrs, and wear clean clothes after the bath. At sunrise one should take acamana and sit on the shore of the ocean facing the eastern direction. With red candana and water, one should make a figure of a lotus with eight petals in a vessel of copper, round in shape and filled up with copper. The petals should rise at the front side. Then sesame, rice, water, red candana, red flowers and kuśa grass should be kept in that vessel. If one does not have a copper vessel, then the sesame and other things should be kept in a pot made of arka leaves. The vessel should be covered by another vessel. After performing the anganyasa and the karanyasa, one should meditate with mind and

<sup>41.</sup> ERE, Vol. II. Por 483 tri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

body on the sun. Then in the middle of that eight-petalled lotus, and in the petals of Agni, Nairrtya, Vāyavya directions and again in the middle one should offer worship to Sūrya which is pure and the highest. Then the sun should be invoked and one should perform the various rituals like sumukha, sampuţa, etc., and then one should bathe the deity and meditate with a concentrated mind (28. 19-30). After seeing the saffron-coloured sun in the morning, one should take the arghyapātra, touch it with one's head, sit on the knees and observe silence with a concentrated mind, followed by an offering of an arghya to Sūrya with a recitation of the threelettered mantra. As the lord Surya can be attained by devotion alone, one should offer an arghya to him by taking his name. In the directions Agni, Nairrtya, Vāyavya Išāna, Madhya and Pūrva one should worship with heart, head, head-tail, kavaca, eyes and weapons. Then one should offer arghya, fragrant objects, dhupa, dīpa, naivedya, and should perform the japa, namaskāra, stuti and mudrās and perform the visarjana ceremony. Those who resort to the sun, the bestower of light to the three worlds, get great pleasure. As long as one does not offer arghya to the lord Sūrya according to the proper rites, one should not worship Visnu, Siva and Indra. Therefore, everyday after purifying oneself, one should offer arghya to the sun with flowers and candana. Thus one who offers an arghya to the sun with a concentrated mind receives the desired fruits (28.32-44, 45-48).

The Br. P. mentions the following results of Surya worship. One who offers an arghya to the sun on the seventh day of the month of Māgha with a concentrated mind receives the fruits he desires. The diseased person is freed from diseases, the wealthdesiring gets wealth, the knowledge-seeking attains knowledge and he who is desirous of a son, gets a son (28.42, 43). After worshipping the sun, one gets the fruit of ten Asvamedhas and becoming free from sins, gets the divine worlds. He saves his past seven generations as well as future seven generations, and goes to Surya loka in a flying craft of his choice. There he enjoys for one kalpa and when the merit of his holy deeds is exhausted, he returns to this world, gets a birth in the great family of yogins, becomes wellversed in the four Vedas and taking up the yoga of sun, attains liberation (28.37). Going round the sun is considered equal to going round the earth, with its seven islands (29.20). One who offers worship to Strya and eats only to get on sa Foundation USA

the seventh day, or offers śrāddha to the pitrs on the Vijayāsaptamī day and performs sacrifices in honour of the sun will never know poverty or disease in the family. By mounting the temple of the sun with either yellow, red or white clay, the desired results are obtained while worshipping lord Sūrya with ghee or oil removes blindness (29.24,26, 33-36, 44-45). By performing the Ādityavrata, i.e., repeating a mantra or a stotra facing the sun from the time of its rising to the time of its setting, one is freed from grave sins (29.45). The offering of kṛṣara, milk, pudding, fruits, roots, ghee and rice in honour of the sun leads to the fulfilment of all one's desires (29.54. 55) and by offering a canopy and banners in honour of the sun, one achieves success (39.58). People of all the classes and women who offer arghya to the sun attain the highest status (28.37). The arghya to the sun should be offered in fire, water, sky, holy land, to the idol or on the altar (29.48).

## Vața Pūjā

According to the Hindu theory of metempsychosis all trees and plants are conscious beings, having distinct personalities and souls of their own as gods, demons, men and animals.42 The Br. P. also describes tree-worship. For the divine Pārijāta tree, a great war was waged between Indra and Kṛṣṇa (a. 202-204). Hindus worship trees like the tulsī, the pippala, the bilva, the vaţa and the aśoka. The Br. P. considers the vata (a. 57) and aśoka (a. 35) trees sacred. The vata tree, identified with Kṛṣṇa, is a famous place of pilgrimage in the Purusottama-ksetra. The Br. P. states that after a bath in the Markandeya's pool and a visit to the temple of Lord Siva, one should repair to the sacred vata, cricumambulate it thrice and worship it with the mantra noted below.43 The vata tree is identified with the Kalpavrksa and it is said that one who cricumambulates it gets freedom from sins and one who resorts to its shade becomes free from such grave sins as brāhmaņa-murder. The vața tree is Lord Vișņu himself and it

<sup>42.</sup> Manu, I.49.

<sup>43.</sup> Om namo vyāktarupāya mahāpralayakāriņe, mahadrāsopaviṣtāya nyagrodhāya namostu te. amaratam sadā kalpe hereścāyatanam vaṭa, nyagrodha hara me pāpam kalpavṛkṣa namostu te.
Brahma 57,13-13. Naradīya (Littara) 55,24-25 gitized by S3 Foundation USA

consists of the brilliance of the highest Brahman. By worshipping it, one gets the rewards of performing the Rājasūya and the Aśvamedha and being freed from sins, one goes to the world of Viṣṇu (57.12-18). There are different names of the vaṭa tree in different yugas viz., Viṭa, Vaṭeśvara, Kṛṣṇa and Purāṇapuruṣa. In the Satyayuga, the area of the tree is one yojana, in the Tretā it is 3/4th yojana, in the Dvāpara, it is half a yojana and in the Kaliyuga it is 1/4th yojana (60.14-18).

# Sacrifices

Sacrifice may be defined generally as a rite in the course of which something is forfeited or destroyed, its object being to establish relations between a source of spiritual strength and one in need of such strength, for the benefit of the latter.<sup>44</sup>

The Br. P. deals with the latter aspect. Hindu writers divide the various kinds of sacrifices into two principal classes: nitya (regular) and naimittika (occasional or special) karmāṇi, one following the course of the year or the duties imposed upon man during life; the other comprising incidental offerings occasioned by special wishes of the sacrificer. The Br. P. deals with various types of sacrifices: the kings who performed them, the rites to be performed in them, the priests to be employed therein and the merit that was entailed by them.

The following is the information that can be attained regarding sacrifices from the Br. P. A sacrifice lasting twelve years was performed, and many people gathered together to witness it (I.10). There was another sacrifice called Satrayāga in which a Samītāra was appointed and an animal was offered. It was believed that without offering an animal, a man did not get immortality. The vessels and other things required for the sacrifice were prepared and it lasted for an year (116.49). There is another reference to the Samvatsarika sacrifice which the sage Agastya performed in the company of the other sages (118.7-10). These are the periodical sacrifices.

There are references to the performance of the Rājasūya sacrifice also. The Rājasūya is a most complex ceremony extending

<sup>45.</sup> ERE., Vol. XII, p. 796.

over a very long period (more than two years) and comprising a number of separate işţis (like the one to Anumati), Soma sacrifice (like pavitra) and animal sacrifices. The Br. P. gives the following references; King Pṛthu was the first amongst those to be anointed at the Rājasūya sacrifice (II.24). The moon performed a Rājasūya sacrifice and dakṣinā of a lakh of things was given. In this sacrifice, nine goddesses attended the moon. After the avabhṛtha bath at the end of the sacrifice all the gods and the deities offered worship to moon (IX.13-17). King Śamīka too is said to have performed the Rājasūya sacrifice (14.33).

There are references to the performance of the Asvamedha sacrifices also. The Asvamedha sacrifice is one of the most ancient sscrifices. It was performed with various motives. It was performed to expiate the sin of brāhmaņa murder (12.44.45). It was considered to be highly meritorious. Thus one who with deep faith observes fasts in those tīrthas, takes a bath with a disciplined mind and according to the rites offers tarpana to the gods, the sages. men and the pitrs and worship the gods living there for three nights gets distinct rewards of the Asvamedha from each tirtha (25.83-85). It had the capacity to destroy sins. It is said that like the Aśvamedha sacrifice, aghamarşana destroys all the sins (60.48). In Hayamedha, sixteen rtvigs and one Purohita were employed (168.2). A horse was sent in all directions at the time of the performance of the sacrifice (8.52). The Asvamedha was considered to be a difficult sacrifice and Rāma was credited with having completed ten such sacrifices without obstruction (213.144). King Purūravā is said to have performed the Agnihotra sacrifice (10.1, 2). Jāhnu is said to have performed a Sarpamedha which was considered to be a great sacrifice (10.15). The gods performed Goyajña on the bank of the Godavari in order to have cows (91.10). There is a reference to the performance of the Naramedha. The altar, the mandapa, the kunda, the yupa, the horse, etc., were created beforehand. Vasā, loma, māmsa and tvag were offered in fire and the mantras were recited. A human being was generally offered in it, but at times, he was only tied there and not offered (104.68). Another sacrifice called Sirayajña was performed by the farmers. The mountain-dwelling people should perform Giriyajña or Goyajña (187.50). The mountains also were worshipped. Various types of

<sup>46</sup> Kane HOS Wol SH 2ri 6 1244 on, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

materials were offered in it and many brāhmaņas were given a dinner. Then cows and bulls were worshipped and all the people went round the mountain. Kṛṣṇa manifested his real form to the cow-herds on the Govardhana mountain and merged again into it (187.51-54).

According to the Br. P. the following rites should be observed in a sacrifice. The Purohitas were appointed. The vedi, the mandapa, the kunda, the yūpa, the asva were prepared beforehand. Water was sprinkled and the havi was offered to various gods, in various ways. The mantras were recited (104.68), a purodāśa was prepared from the Agnisomiya and Aindragna (133.3). In the sacrifice of Brahmā, at first the animal sitting on the kuśa grass was anointed. The yūpa, the pranīta, the kuśa, the Rtvik, the yajña, the srvava, the puruşa and the pāśa were offered in the sacrifice after the whole world emerged from the puruşa. Then Brahmā offered oblations in the Gārhapatya, the Dakṣiṇāgni and the Ahavanīyāgni. In each of them, he meditated on the Purusa. the cause of the world. The lord of the world took a white form and manifested himself in the Ahavanīya, a black form in the Daksināgni and a yellow form in the Gārhapatya (161,54-57).

Regarding the material to be employed in the sacrifices, the Br. P. provides the following information. The yūpas, the vajñapātras and the eatables were used in the sacrifice (34.60-68). From the description of the sacrifice performed by Brahmā an idea can be had of the things to be employed in the performance of the sacrifice. In his sacrifice, the season Vasanta was ghee, grīsma the fuel, śarada, the havişya, varṣā the kuśa, the seven metres, the seven paridhis, kalā, Kāṣṭhā and nimeṣa were samidha, patra and kuśa, the beginning less and endless kāla, the yūpa, and the sattva and other gunas the rope to tie the animal with (161.35-49), 51-53).

The Br. P. refers to many kings and priests who performed the sacrifice. Kings Satyakarna (13.126), Marut (13.144-145), Uşadgu (15.2), Devāvrdha (15.35), Dakşa (34.3), Dhanvantari (122.3), Vasistha and Atri (168.1) performed sacrifices and gave much dakṣiṇā. The sacrifices of Akrūra are well-known and he gave large amounts as daksinā (17.27). The king Sahasrārjuna performed seven hundred sacrifices (13.188-199). The gods performed a sacrifice on the bank of the Godavari and lord Ganesa threw robstructions tin ollittion 144, b.4). Di Thed demons also threw

obstructions in the performance of the sacrifices by the sages (a.116). King Samīka performed a Rājasūya sacrifice. Prajāpati Dakşa performed a Hayamedha which was destroyed by Siva (39.1). Kings Indradyumna (43.108), Sagara (78.10-12), Ila (108-116), Arstisena (127.5-7) are the noted performers of Hayamedha and they gave much dakṣiṇā. The sage Sukra acted as a purohita in the sacrifice of Balī (73.23-25), Yājñavalkya in that of king Janaka (88.21), Vasistha in those of Priyavrata (103.4-7) and Dakşa (109.13-21). The sacrifice of Dakşa was protected by Indra and Vasus. It resounded with the rk, the yajus, the samans and the svāhāśabda. It was adorned with the goddesses and divine cows. It was protected by the gods. Lord Siva destroyed it with the help of Vīrabhadra and Bhadrakāli (109.13-21). In order to expiate his sins, lord Parasurama performed an asvamedha and he gave the whole earth to the sage Kasyapa in daksina together with many chariots, elephants, horses and cows (213.116-122).

The sacrifices were celebrated with great pomp. Sages gathered together in the hermitages and people from various parts came to witness it (I.10-12). In the sacrifice performed by Sahasrārjuna, golden pillars were erected and the gods and the gandharvas came to attend it (13.188-189). In the sacrifice of Dakṣa, Indra and all the deities gathered together, the Ādityas, the Vasus, the Rudras, the Sādhyas, and the Maruts came to participate in the sacrifice with Viṣṇu. The deities like Uṣmapā, Dhūmapā, Ājyapā and Somapā too were present with the Āśvinīkumāras and the gods with their wives (13.18-26).

The king Marutta gave his daughter Samyatā in dakṣiṇā to Samvarta (13.144-145). Sahasrārjuna performed seven hundred sacrifices and in each of them he gave a dakṣiṇā of one lakh coins (13.188-192). In the sacrifice of Indradyumna, many eatables were given in dakṣiṇā to the brāhmaṇas (48.90-91). Sometimes the sacrifices were performed with a view to obtaining children (II.8).

About sacrifices in general, it is said that without a sacrifice nothing can be obtained (129.50); neither this world nor the other world can have any existence (79.9). It is the Sanātana dharma (133.9). It is Viṣṇu (161.15-17) and it confirms the śruti 'Yajno vai Viṣṇuḥ'. The lord makes gārhapatya, āhavanīya, anvāharya, samidh, sruvā, avabhṛtya, avākpāṇi, havyabhāga, havyada and kavyada. He bringsaythe avessels, olcaru, thukhāla, yupa, samidh, sruva, soma,

pavitra, paridhi, the sacrificial materials, camasa, sadasya, yajamāna,

From the description of the Varāha incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu, one can get an idea of the following objects of sacrifice. It is said that the four Vedas are his feet, the yūpa is his jaw, the yajūa his teeth, the cities his mouth, the fire his tongue, the kusa his pores, the Brahmā his head, the Veda his body, the srutis his ornaments, the havisya his nose, the sruvā his belly, the Sāmaveda his voice, expiation his nail; beasts his knees, the yajūa his nature, the udgātā his intestine, the homa his linga, the oşadhi his seed, the Vedi his back, the havisya his smell, the havya and the kavya his speed, the house of yajamāna his body, dakṣiṇā his heart, the Vedasvādhyāya his necklace, the pravarga his ornament, the chanda his path and the Upanisads his seat (213.32-42).

# Śrāddha and Ancestor Worship

The Br. P. defines śrāddha as follows: "Whatever is given with faith to Brahmana, intending it to be for the (benefit of) pitrs at a proper time, in a proper place, to deserving persons and in accordance with the prescribed procedure is called śrāddha."47 Though this verse is ascribed to the Br. P., 48 it is not found in the existing one.

The Br. P.49 speaks of Manu as the promulgator of śrāddha rites and the Br. P. (6.8), the Vișņu-Purāņa (III.1-30), Vāyu-Purāņa (44.38) and Bhāgavata-Purāņa (III.1-22) designate Manu as the śrāddhadeva. The Br. P. also states that Vișņu in his incarnation as a boar established the institution of śrāddha by offering an oblation to the pitrs after relieving them from the river Kokā (a. 219). The Santiparva<sup>50</sup> and the Visnudharmottara (I.139.14-16) corroborate it. Kane<sup>51</sup> derives the important conclusion that it was believed even several centuries before Christ that the institution of śrāddha had great antiquity behind it and that it was as old as Manu, the father of mankind, according to the Rv. 52

<sup>47.</sup> Kane P.V., HDS, Vol. 4, p. 334.

<sup>48.</sup> Brahmapurāna quoted by śrāddhaprakāśa, p. 3 and 6, Śrāddhakalpalatā, p. 3, and Parāšaramādhavīya 1.2, p. 299.

<sup>49.</sup> Upodghātapāda 9.15 and 10.99, cf. also Ap.Dh. s. II.7.16. 1-3.

<sup>50. 345.14-21,</sup> quoted by Śrāddhaprakāśa.

<sup>51</sup> HDS., Vol. IV, p. 249 52. Vill. 63.1, VIII.30.3,

The worship of ancestors lies at the root of all the funeral rites. The object is to provide the departed spirit with a kind of intermediate body interposed as it were parenthetically between the terrestrial gross body which has just been destroyed by fire and the new terrestrial body which it is compelled ultimately to assume. This orthodox conception of the śrāddha—that is intended to provide an intermediate body for the departed soul—is a later development. The śrāddha was really evolved from the custom of feeding the dead, a rite common among all savage and semi-savage races "Like the habit of dressing the dead in his best clothes, it probably originated in the selfish but not unkindly desire to induce the perturbed spirit to rest in the grave and not come plaguing the living for food and raiment." 54

The Br. P. states that the śrāddha is to be treated under five heads, namely, how, where, when, by whom, and what materials. But before discussing in detail, it is necessary to understand the significance of the word 'pitaṛaḥ' to whom the śrāddhas are

offered.

In the earliest Vedic period the worship paid to the manes was distinct from that of the natural phenomena. The general theory seems to be that though they are divine and possessed of many godlike powers, still they are distinct from the gods and are not to be confounded with them. In Av. we get the doctrine of the elevation of the gods and the pitrs. In the Epics we find a progressive identification of the gods and the pitrs. It is in the Puranic period that we find them mixed up with the Vedic gods and a host of other objects of devotion, like the bird Garuda and the world-snake Seşa. But throughout this progressive development the pitrs are never regarded as independent divine beings; on the contrary, they always depend on their friends on earth for continuous aid and maintenance and that their advancement to a higher stage is impossible without due performance of rites done by their pious descendants.

The word 'pitarah' is used in two senses, viz. (i) a man's three immediate deceased ancestors, and (ii) the early or ancient

<sup>53.</sup> Monier Williams, Brahmanism and Hinduism, p.277.

<sup>54.</sup> Frazer, JAI., XV, 74 f.

<sup>55.</sup> Hopkins, Religions of India, Rew 3 and Dit 145 by S3 Foundation USA

ancestors of the human race that were supposed to inhabit a separate world by themselves. 56 The Br. P. uses it in both these senses. It states that after the sapindikaranaśrāddha the deceased persons become free from the pretabhava and get the form of the pitrs.

The Br. P. relates a story about the second class of the pitrs viz., the ancient ancestors of the human race that had their separate world. The pitrs lived on the mountain Meru with the Visvedevas but as they grew passionate for Urjā or Svadhā, the daughter of Soma, the Visvedevas left the mountain and went to heaven. Soma was enraged on seeing that the pitrs had accepted his daughter without asking his permission and he cursed his daughter Urja who was then called Kokā, to become a river and the pitrs stayed on the bank of the river Kokā for ten thousand years. When the demons came to trouble them, and threw a slab of stone over them, the river Kokā covered them with her water. In order to get freedom, the pitrs worshipped Lord Vişnu who in his Varāha incarnation brought them out, offered them oblations and blessed them that they would regain their original position, that Kokā would be re-born as a daughter of Dakşa and that they would be able to join her again (a.219). The Satapatha Brāhmaņa (II.4.2.2) also connects the pitrs with svadhā and the moon. It states that Prajāpati said to them "You will have food at (the end of) each month (in the amāvasyā), your svadhā (cordial) will be swiftness of thought and the noon will be your light.<sup>57</sup> The Visnudharmottara<sup>58</sup> also states that with the utterance of the word 'svadha' the departed spirit enjoys in the world of pitrs the food offered in śrāddha.

The first kind of pitrs are divided into various categories.<sup>59</sup> In the Satapatha Brāhmana (VI.5,6), twelve groups of pitrs are mentioned, viz., pindabhajah (three), lepabhajah (three), nandimukhas (three) and asrumukhas (three).60 The Br. P. states that after the sapindīkaraņaśrāddha, the great grandfathers of the father go into the category of the lepabhagabhuk pitrs by which they lose the right of having oblations offered to them as pitrs. Before the sapindikaranaśrāddha, the four ancestors above the great grandrather

<sup>56.</sup> Kane, op. cit., p. 340.

<sup>57.</sup> Kane P.V., HDS, Vol. IV, p. 315.

<sup>58. 20.34-36;</sup> also cf. Mārk, 27.49-51, Venk. Ed.

<sup>59.</sup> Rv. X.15.4 and II; Tai Br. 1,6.9.5; Kathaka samhitā IX.6-17; Manu III.199. 60. Kahe Pr. V. satva Vrai Shastii Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

too had the right to the oblations. The sages say that seven persons have close relationship. The first three are the father, the grandfather and the great grandfather who have a right to pinda; the other three are those above the great great grandfather who have a right to lepabhaga and the seventh is yajamana. The ancestors above the lepabhāgabhojins are called pūrvajas (220,82-87).

The Br. P. further divided the pitrs into two categories: Formless [amurta] and those having forms [murta]. Further it alludes to three types, viz., the nandimukha pitrs are formless and the pitrs of the pārvaņaśrāddha as having forms and those of the

ekoddistasrāddha are called prètas. 81

As regards the tarpana to the pitrs, it is said that after the offering of the tarpana to the pitrs the gods get a right to have a tarpana for themselves. In the śrāddha and the sacrifice, things should be offered with one hand but in the tarpana things should be offered with both the hands. One should utter the name and gotra and after saying the word 'trpyatām' one should offer the tarpana. The tilas (signs of sesame) that are on one's body should not be offered to the gods and the pitrs. One who does so incurs the taint of sin. One should not offer water to the pitrs while standing in water but as the pitrs have lived and died on the earth the gods should be invoked with the kuśa grass (60.52-65).

The Br. P. can furnish enough data on the institution of the śrāddha. The śrāddha-kalpalatā quotes verses from the Br. P. many of which are found in ch. 220 of the printed text (An. ed.).

Śrāddhādhikārins: First comes the question as to who are entitled to offer śrāddha? There is a good deal of difference as to the persons entitled. For exmple, Gautama (Dh. S. 15.13-14) states "On failure of sons the sapindas (e.g., brother, brother's son), the sapindas of the mother (e.g. maternal uncle or his son), the pupils may perform śrāddha for the deceased; in default of these the family priest and the ācārya."62 Sankha says, "The offering of pinda and water should be done by the son for the father; in default (i.e. absence or death) of the son, the wife (of the deceased) should offer, but in default of her, the full brother."63 The Visnu

CC-062. Kane P.Vat Spassif G.Volti IV., pw256 hi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

<sup>61. 220.66,67;</sup> also cf. Vāyu 72-1 and 73.60; Brahmānda (upodghāta 9.53), Padma V. 9.2-3, Vişmudharmottara I.138.2-3,

purana says, "The son, grandson, great grandson (of the deceased), purana says, the offspring of the sapinda becomes entitled to offer (pinda)."61 The Br. P.65 provides, on the failure of sons, sapindas, 66 on the The Br. F. Pathon the sahodakas, a daughter's son should perform (if the man dies without a son), the putrikāputra should perform them for his maternal grandfather.

In reply to the query as to how a śrāddha be performed when the father is living but the grandfather and great grandfather have died, the Br. P. states that neither the Vedic nor the laukika rule is violated if the son performs the śrāddhas of all the deceased whose śrāddhas the father performs (220.205, 206). Elsewhere it is stated that the brahmanas, kşatriyas, and vaisyas should perform the sraddha according to the customs of their families and the performance should be accompanied with the recitation of mantras but women and the śūdras should perform the śrāddha according to the instructions of the brāhmaṇas and their performance should not be accompanied by a recitation of the mantras (220.3-4, 222.14).

Time to Perform Śrāddhā: The next question is about the time when śrāddha is to be performed for the fathers on amāvasyā. 68 The Br. P. also follows the ancient tradition and states that the proper time to perform śrāddhas is the amāvasyā of every month (220.10). The Br. P.69 says that the afternoon is preferable to the forenoon for the performance of śrāddhas as the afternoon is better

<sup>64.</sup> ibid.

<sup>65. 220.76-80;</sup> cf. Markandeya, p. 30.19-21; 27.19-23 of the Venk. Ed.

<sup>66.</sup> According to Yājñavalkya (I.53), Sapinda relationship ceases after the fifth on the mother's side and after the seventh on the father's side. Whereas according to the Dayabhaga school, the persons starting from paternal-great-grandfather upto grandsons and full brothers constitute the sapinda relationship. cf. Baudhāyana Dh.S. I.5, 113-115 and Manu IX. 186-189.

<sup>67.</sup> The sahodakas comprise the seventh ascendants of a person after the great grandfather's great-grandfather, the thirteenth descendants of these seven ascendants, the seventh descendants after the sixth descendant of his six male ancestors from his own father, and descendants of himself from the seventh to the thirteenth. For details vide Kane P.V., op. cit., Vol. III, p. 752-753.

<sup>68.</sup> Gautama-Dharma-Sütra Concetion, New Delhi. Digitized by 63. Foundation USA 69. 220.120. cf. Ap.Dh.S. (II.7.16.4-7) and Manu III. 276-278).

liked by the pitrs. The Br. P.70 sums up in one place the times for performing śrāddhas: astakā days,71 manvantara days72 and anvastakā days,78 (on these days the śrāddhas begin with the family on the mother's side), eclipses of the sun and the moon, the astrological conjunctions called vyatipāta,74 the conjunction of the moon and the sun in one rasi (according to 'ga' on the day of the possession of new corn or nine types of corn), janmanaksatra. grahapīdā (pārvaņaśrāddha is performed on these days), the two avanas (the two days on which the sun appears to start towards the south or north, i.e., solstices), the two equinoctial points or visuva days (i.e. the sun's apparent entrance into Aries and Balance) the days on which the sun passes into one rasi from another, the third and the ninth days of the bright halves of Vaisākha and Kārtika respectively, the thirteenth day of Bhādrapada and amāvāsvā of Māgha (on these days the śrāddha should be performed with the preparation of milk).

The Br. P. further states what rewards a man gets if he performs śrāddhas on each of the days from the first of the

70. 220.51-58, also cf Anuśāsanaparva 87.18; Manu III.276; Yaj. I.217-218; Kurma II.20.2-8; Mārkaņdeya 28.20 ff; Varāha 13.33-35.

71. Aştakā means the eigth tithi in any month after the full moon day (vide Sat. Br. VI.4.2.10). But generally the eigth tithis of the dark half of the months of Pauşa, Māgha, Phālguna and Caitra are considered to be the aştaka days, but the views differ in details vide Kane P.V., HDS, Vol.IV, p. 353.

72. Matsya 17.6-8, Agni p. 117.61-64, 209.16-18, Saura P. 51.33-36, Padma (sṛṣti 9.132-135) mention the first tithis of the fourteen manus (manvantaras) as follows: the ninth of the bright half of Aśvina, the twelfth of the bright half of Kārtika, the third of the bright of Caitra, and of Bhādrapada, the amāvāsya of Phālguna, the eleventh of the bright half of Pauşa, the tenth of bright half of Āṣāḍha and the seventh of the bright half of Māgha, the eight of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa, the full moon of Āṣāḍha, Kārtika, Phālguna, Caitra and Jyeṣṭha.

73. The four ninth days following the astakā days are called anvastakā tithis.

74. It is explained in two ways: When amāvāṣyā occurs on a Sunday and the moon is on that day either in Śrāvaṇa nakṣatra or in Aśvinī, Dhaniṣṭhā, Ārdrā or the first quarter of Āśleṣā that is a conjunction called vyatipāt. cf. Vṛddhamanu quoted by Aparārka p. 426 and Agni p. 209.13 or when on the twelfth of the bright half the moon is in Hasta nakṣatra, the sun in Meṣa and Jupiter and Mars in Simha then the conjunction is called vyatipāta.

fifteenth of the dark half.75 The first tithi gives money, the second fifteenth of the day on, the fourth destroys enemies and the fifth again gives prosperity. The sixth makes one adorable, the seventh bestows the overlordship of ganas, the eighth the highest intelligence, the ninth a wife, the tenth fulfils desires, the eleventh gives the knowledge of the Vedas, the twelfth victory, the thirteenth gives children, animals, intelligence, independence, money, long life and prosperity. The śrāddha of those pitrs who have died young and who were killed by weapons should be performed on the fourteenth day and the śrāddha performed on the amāvāsya fulfils all desires and bestows heaven.

The Br. P. further mentions what rewards follow on the performance of śrāddhas on the nakṣatras from Kṛttikā to Bharaṇī.76 Thus the śrāddha performed on Krttikā yields heaven, that on Rohiņī children, that on Mṛgaśīrṣa brilliance, that on Ārdrā eminence, that on Punarvasu a wife, that on Puşya inexhaustible wealth, that on Aśleşā longevity, that on Maghā children and strength, that on Pürvāphālgunī good luck, that on Uttarāphālgunī children and the best position, that on Hasta proficiency in the śāstras, that on Citrā beauty, brilliance and progeny, that on Svāti profit in merchandise, that on Viśākhā a son, that on Anurādhā sovereignty, that on Jyestha eminence, that on Mula sound health, that on Purvāṣāḍha fame, that on Uttarāṣāḍha removal of sorrow. that on Śrāvaņa good world, that on Dhanisthā wealth, that on Abhijit proficiency in the Vedas, that on Satabhisa success in medicine, that on Purvābhādrapadā goats, that on Uttarābhādrapadā cows, that on Revatī copper, that on Aśvinī horses and that on Bharani long life.

The Br. P. states that the śrāddha performed on the day when the sun is in Kanyārāśi fulfils all desires, satisfies the pitṛs, bestows the reward of the performance of the sacrifice, Rajasuya and Asvamedha. The śrāddha performed on the days of the nakṣatras Uttarāphālgunī and Hasta bestows heaven. The city of the pitrs is vacated by Yama's order when the Sun is in the Vṛścika rāśi but if

76. 220.33-42; also cf. Visuu Dh.S. 78.8-15, Yāj I.265-268; Vāyu Ch. 82, Mārk. C30.8-15, Kurma II.20.9-15; Brahmanda (upodghatapada 18.14ft) pion USA

<sup>75. 220.15-21,</sup> also cf. III Ap.Dh. S. II 7.16.8-22, Anuśasana 87, Vayu 89,10-19, Yāj. I. 262-263, Vişnu Dh.S. 78.36-50, Kūrma II.20.17-22, Brahmānda III. 10-22.

the śrāddha is not performed before that period is over, the pitrs curse men and go back to their own place (220.42-51).

Places enjoined and discarded: Manu (III.206, 207), Yājñavalkva (1.207), Sankha, 77 Kūrma (II.22-17), Viṣṇu Dharmasūtra (ch.85) deal with the places where the śrāddhas should be performed. The Vāvu (ch. 77) and the Matsya (ch.22) contain long lists of sacred places, countries, mountains in relation to śrāddhas. The Br. P. also specifies river confluences, holy rivers, lakes, mountain tops. seven oceans, clean houses, divine trees, sacrificial halls, and sacred spots like puşkara as proper places for śrāddha (220.5-7).

The Visnudharmasūtra (ch.84) and Markāndeya78 specify some places where the śrāddha should not be performed. The Br. P. also specifies that the following countries should be avoided for śrāddhas: the Kirāta country, Kalinga, Konkana, Kṛmi, Daśārna. Kumārya, Tangana, Kratha, the northern banks of the Sindhu river and the southern bank of the Narmada and the east of the Karatoyā.

Persons to be invited: The next important question is about the qualifications of those to be invited to the dinner on a śrāddha day. Only brāhmaņas are entitled. Various works79 deal with their qualifications. The Br. P. also gives a long list of Panktipavana brāhmaņas.80 Manu (83.183) declares that Panktipāvana brāhmaņas are all those that sanctify a row of diners among whom sit some who are tainted by blemishes that make them unfit. Thus the Br. P. (220,101-104) states that a performer of a śrāddha should invite one who is a Trinaciketa, i.e. who has studied the three Vedic verses in which the word 'madhu's1 occurs, who has studied the Trisuparna, who is a knower of all the six angas of the Veda, who is a devotee of parents and who is dear to his wife, who is proficient in the Sāmaveda, who is a rtvik or a purchita or an

<sup>77.</sup> quoted by Parāśaramādhāvīya, I.2 p. 303, Śrāddhaprakāśa p. 140.

<sup>78. 29.19.9</sup> by Śrāddhaprakāsa, p. 139.

<sup>79.</sup> Asv, Gr. IV.7.2, San, Gr. IV.1.2; Ap. Gr. VIII.21.2, Ap. Dh.S. II.7.17.4, Hiranyakesigrhya sutra II.10.2, Baud Gr. II.10.5-6, II-8.2-3, Gaut. 15.9.

<sup>80. 220.101-104;</sup> also cf. Anuśasanaparva 90.25-31; Kūrma II.21.I-14 Matsya 16.7-13; Vayu 79.56-59, 83.52-55; Skanda VI. 217.21-25.

<sup>81.</sup> Rv. I.90.6-8; Vaj.S. 13-27-29; Tai.S. IV.2-9-3.

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ācārya or on upādhyāya or who is a maternal uncle or a father-inacārya of on a brother-in-law, a relative, who can read Drona, who has law, or a brong who is contented and who does not be puranas, who studied the ruranas, who has no desires, who is contented and who does not take back the things given by him.

gs givon ', The Br. P. lays special stress on inviting 'tapasvīs' at a śrāddha dinner.82 It states that a wise man should always feed yogins at a śrāddha, since the pitrs rely for support on yoga. If amongst a thousand brāhmanas there is one yogin, he saves the performer and the other diners as a boat saves men in water. If a yati comes for bhiksa he should be fed with proper respect. Then it quotes stanzas sung by the pitrs to king Aila (220.113-115). The smrtis laid down some strict rules which were to be observed by the brahmanas invited for śrāddha and by the performer himself. Thus the Br. P. says that the Panktipāvana brāhmanas would be invited on the day before the performance of the śrāddha, because the important condition is that the Panktipavanas and the performer of śrāddha who are invited for the śrāddha-dinner should remain chaste and restrained and should shun intercourse with their wives on the day of śrāddha. Therefore, they should invite the brāhmanas just on the day before the śrāddha and if such brāhmanas are not available on the previous day, they should be invited on the very day of the śrāddha but one should never invite those brāhmanas who have cohabited their wives on that day for then it results in giving a bed of semen-virile to the pitrs for one month.83 The dana of the śraddha should be given to those brahmanas who are restrained, and learned, who perform the agnihotra and who have a noble character (220.100, 101). The brāhmaņas who are invited for the śrāddha should be respectfully propitiated. After giving them water for acamana with clean hands, they should be given a seat. After performing the śrāddha according to the proper rites, they should be given a dinner. One should bow down to them and bid them farewell with courteous words and should go upto the door with them (220.121-123).

<sup>82. 220.109-112;</sup> cf. also Visnu Dh.S. 83.19-20; Varāha P. 14.50; Mark. P. 29.29; Vāyu 76.28; Brahmānda III.9.70.

<sup>83. 220.105-109;</sup> cf. also Śrāddhasūtra of Kātyāyana; Auśanas (Jīv. Vol. I, pp. 526-527), Mārk. (28.31-35), Anuśāsana (125-24), Vāyu, (79.60-61).

Persons not to be invited: Brahmanas were declared as defiling a row of diners at the śrāddha on various grounds such as bodily and mental defects and diseases, pursuit of certain avocations, moral lapses, being guilty of crimes, being followers of unorthodox systems. being inhabitants of certain countries.84 The following long list of persons unfit to be invited at śrāddha is given by the Br. P. 85. (1) a betrayer of a friend, (2) one with deformed nails, (3) an impotent, (4) one suffering from consumption, (5) an epileptic. (6) one subsisting on trade (vanikpathah), (7) one whose teeth are black, (8) Khalvāṭa, a bald person, (9) a squint-eyed or one-eyed man, (10) one who is blind, (11) one who is deaf, (12) one who is inactive. (13) one who is dumb, (14) one who is lame (15) kuni-having a crooked or withered arm or an arm without a hand or fingers, (16) one who is a eunuch, (17) one who is afflicted with a skin disease (18) one who is deficient in one limb (vyanga), (19) kekara—squinteved, (20) kusthi-one who has leprosy, (21) one who has red eyes, (22) kubja—hump-backed or crooked, (23) one who is very short, (24) one who is terrible, (25) a lazy person, (26) a foe of a friend (27) one who is not born in a good family, (28) one subsisting on cattle, (29) one who neglects the five (daily) sacrifices—nirākṛtin,86 (30) parivitti—an elder brother who marries or kindles fires after his younger brother, (31) parivettā—a younger brother who marries or kindles fire before his elder brother, (32) one who is the son of parivedanikā—woman who has married before the elder sister, (33) a husband of vṛṣalī,87 (34) a son of vṛṣalī, (35) one who instructs a son of vṛṣalī, (36) one who is unmarried,

84. Kane P.V., HDS., Vol.IV, p. 391.

86. It is explained in two ways: (i) one who does not perform the daily five Mahāyajñas, and (ii) one who after learning the Veda forgets it.

87. Vīsali is explained in various ways by Skanda-Purāna. VII.1.205.77-80 as meaning a śūdra woman, as one who abandoning her husband cohabits with another, as a girl who is not married though she has reached the age of puberty, as a prostitute, as one who is sterile, or one all whose children are dead—vide P.V. Kane, Vol IV P. 394 fall 281 y S3 Foundation USA

<sup>85. 220.127-135;</sup> also cf. Ap.Dh.S. II.7-17.21; Vas. Dh.S. XI.19, Gaut. XV. 16-19; Manu III. 150-166; Yaj 1.222-224; Vişnu Dh.S. 82.3-29, Atri (verses 345-359, 385-383) Bṛhad Yamā III.34-38, Bṛhat-Parāšara pp. 149-150, Vṛddha-Gautama p. 580-581, Vāyu, p. 83.61.70, Anusāsanaparva 90.6-II, Matsya 16.14-17, Kurma II.21.23-47, Skanda VII.1.205.58-72, VI.207.11-20, Varāha 14.4-6, Brahmanda (upodghāta 15.39-41); Mārkandeya 28.26-30, Vişņu III.15.5-8, Nārada Purvārdha 28.11-18), Saura Purāņa (19.7-9).

(37) a husband of a didhīşu,88 (38) one who is a teacher for (37) a muscle on the staught by a hired teacher, (40) one who is a teacher for money, (39) one of ood obtained from sutake (40) one who money, (39) one who maintains himself on food obtained from sūtaka, (41) mṛgayuḥ maintains ministed. (41) a seller of somarasa, (43) abhisastā—blamed or defamed or calumniated, (44) a thief, (45) a patita, (46) one who maintains himself by taking vyāja—a usurer, (47) one who is cunning, (48) one who enjoys scandal, (49) dānāgnityāganisthurah, (50) the purchita of a king, (51) a servant, (52) one who has no vidyā, (53) one who is envious, (54) one who has enmity with elderly people, (55) one who is invincible, (56) one who is cruel. (57) one who is foolish, (58) one subsisting on the income of a temple, (59) one subsisting by the practice of astrology, (60) a manufacturer of bows and arrows, (61) one who gets his sacrifices performed by unworthy brāhmaņas, (62) one who is condemned by others.

Number of invitees: There were several opinions about the number of brāhmaņas to be invited at a śrāddha. The As. Gr. S. (IV.7.2-3) states that at the Parvana śrāddha, the Abhyudayika śrāddha, the Ekoddista or kāmya śrāddha, the larger the number of brāhmanas the greater is the reward, that in no case should a person invite only one brāhmaņa at a śrāddha meant for all pitrs or he may optionally invite only one brāhmaņa except at the first śrāddha, that he may invite one, two or three brahmanas for each of the three paternal ancestors. The San. Gr. (IV.1.2) and Kausītaki Gr. (III.14.1.2) prescribe that one should invite an uneven number of brāhmanas.

The Br. P.89 provides that one must feed two brahmanas at the rite for the gods and three for the manes or only one for each of the two purposes. Therefore, it seems that the number of brāhmaņas to be invited did not depend so much upon the means

89. 220.60, 61; also cf. Vas. XI.27; Manu III.125. Baud.Dh.S. II.8.29, Yaj. I.228, CCMatsya \$17,13414,5 Kisma III. 15.14; Radona (Sisti Khanda) 9.98 and 141.

<sup>88.</sup> When a younger sister gets married before the elder sister, the elder sister is called didhīşu. According to Amrakoša, didhīşupati means the husband of a remarried woman. Manu III. 173 explains didhīşupati as one who lasciviously dallies with the widow of his deceased brother, though she is appointed (to bear a son by him) according to the sacred law, vide P.V. Kane, ibid.

of the inviter, but upon the point whether the inviter would be able to honour them all properly and with ease.90

Materials to be employed: Elaborate provisions are made from ancient times about the substances and utensils proper for use at a śrāddha and about those that should not be used. The Br. P. remarks that the following things should be offered to pitrs in śrāddha: yava, vrīhi, tila, māşa, wheat, caṇaka, mudga, śyāmāka, sarsapadrava, nivāra, hasti, priyangu, prasānikā, satulikā, āmra (mango), āmrātaka, bilva, pomegranate, bījapūraka, prācīnāmalaka. ksīra, nārikela, paruşaka, naranga, kharjūra, drākṣā (grapes), nīlakapitthaka, patola, priyāla, karkandhū, badara, vikantaka, vatsaka, kusta, kastvāruvāraka. 11 Elsewhere it is said that the pitrs should be offered food consisting of milk, alpasaka, bahuphala, şadrasa. mixed with honey and ghee (219.65-68). Again it is said that the jaggery, sugar, matsyandi, urmūra, phānita, cow's milk, curds, ghee. sesame oil, salt, salt from the ocean or fragrant materials, candana. agaru, kumkum, vegetables of all the seasons, tandulika, vāstuka, mulaka and aranyaka vegetables should be offered (220.159-161). Moreover, the hinga, ugragandha, phānita, bhūnimba, nimbarājika, kustumburu, kalingottha, dādima, māgadhi, nagarārdra, tittidi, āmrātaka, jīvaka, tumburu, dugdha, śālmalī, mudga, modaka, pānaka, rasāla, and cow's milk should be offered in śrāddha (220.178-182). In the maghā nakṣatra, milk mixed with ghee and honey was offered (220.113-117). The water mixed with sesame should be offered first to the pitrs and then to the gods (217.66-79).

To kill an animal for the performance of the śrāddha was not considered a sin. Meat was offered in a śrāddha. The Br. P.<sup>92</sup> states at length the periods of time when the pitrs were gratified by the flesh of certain animals served at a śrāddha. Thus the pitrs get satisfied for one month by navişyānna, for two months by the flesh of matsya, for three months by the flesh of a deer, for four months

91. (220.154-158); cf Śańkha 14.22-23; Vāyu 82-3; Viṣṇu P. III.16.5-6; Viṣṇu Dh.S. 80.1, Brahmāṇḍa II.7.143-152. III 14

<sup>90.</sup> Kane, P.V., HDS., Vol.IV, p. 403.

<sup>92. (220.23-29),</sup> cf, also Manu III.262-272, Yāj. 1.258-260, Viṣṇu Dh.S. 86-1. Anuśāsana ch. 88, Kūrma II.20.40-42, 29.2-8, Vayu 83.3-9, Matsya 17.31.35, Viṣṇu III.16-1-3, Padma sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa 9.158-164, Viṣṇudharmoṭṭara I.141. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

by the flesh of a hare, for five months by that of a bird, for six months by that of a sūkara, for seven months by that of a chāgala, for eight months by that of aineya, for nine months by that of ruru, for ten months by that of a cow, for eleven months by that of urabhra, and for one year by the milk of cow, meat of ādhrīņasa, kālaśāka, honey, meat of rohita. The meat of a deer and a hare too were offered (7.50-51). It is said that the meat of chāgal, vārtika, tittira, śaśaka, śivāla, āvika, rājīva, vādhrīnasa. raktasiva, loha, salka, simhatunda, khanda, should be offered in śrāddha. It is also said that the good of gods consisted of slightly sweet, oily, salty, and tasteful things (220.185-186).

The following flowers were used in śrāddha: jāti-campaka, lodhra, mallikā, bāṇa, barbari, vrnta, aśoka, āṭaruṣa, tulasī, tilaka, satapatra, sephālikā, kubjaka, tagara, aranyaketakī, yuthikā, atimukta, kamala, kumuda, padma, pundarika, indivara, kokanada, kalhāra (220.162-168). The dhūpa of guggula, candana and agaru was offered to pitrs (220.167-168). The Br. P. mentions kuşthā, māmsī, vālaka, kukkuţī, jātipatraka, nālikośīra, granthiparnī and sundarī as proper perfumed articles to be used at śrāddhas (220.165-166).

Materials not to be employed: About milk several rules are stated in the smrtis<sup>93</sup> The Br. P. forbids the use in a srāddha of the milk of a she-buffalo, of a camri or female deer, or sheep or ewes, of she-camels, of human females and of all animals with one hoof and the use of the curds and clarified butter prepared from such milk.94

Several kinds of corn and cereal, fruits, and roots, vegetables and meat were condemned for use at a śrāddha. Thus the Br. P. states that the cereals rājamāşa, caņaka, masūra, koradūşaka, viprusa, markata, kodrava; the fruits tāla, varuņa, kākola, bahuputra, arjunīphala, jambīra, raktabilva, and šāla; the meat of matsya, sūkara, kūrma, cow, mṛga; things like padmacandana, kāleyaka, ugragandha, turuska, pālanka, kumārī, kirāta, piņdāmalaka, grñjana, cukrikā, cakra, varuņa, caņapatrikā, satapuspa, nālikā, gandhasūkara, halabhrtya, sarşapa, palāņdu, lasuna,

<sup>93.</sup> Gaut. 17.22-26; Ap.Dh.S. I.5, 17.22-24, Vas.Dh.S. 14.34-35, Baud.Dh.S. 1.5. 156-158, Manu V. 8-9, Vişnu Dh.S. 51,38-41, Yaj. I.170.

<sup>156-158,</sup> Manu V. 8-9, Visnu Dh.S. 51,38-11, Visnu III.16.11.

(940. (220.69) Also Shakaru llection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

mānakanda, vişakanda, vajrakanda, gabhasthikā, puruṣālva, sapiṇḍā-lu, alābu, tiktaparṇa, kūṣmāṇḍa, katukatraya, vārtāka, śivajāta, loma-śa, vaṭa, kālīya, raktabāṇa, balākā, lakuca, vibhītakaphala, āranāla, śukta, śīrṇa, paryuṣita, ugragandha, kovidāra, kaśigruka and things which are very sour, very oily, very sūkṣma; stale things having a bad taste and the smell of wine, should not be used in a śrāddha (220. 168-177).

Elsewhere it is said that those who eat the flesh of rohita, sūkara, kūrma, godhāhaṃsa, cakravāka, madgu, śalkahīna, matsyaka, kurara, nirasthi, vāsahāṭa, kukkuṭa, kalaviṅka, mayūra, bharadvāja, śārṅgaka, nakula, ulūka, mārjāra, lopa, tiṭṭibha, jambūka, vyāghra, ṛkṣa and tarakṣu fall in hell. It is also said that kusumbhaśāka, jambīra, śigruka, kovidāraka, piṇyāka vipruṣa, masura, gṛñjana, śaṇa, kodrava, kokilākṣa, cukra, kumbukapadmaka, cakora, śyena, vartula, alābu, tālinī, tāla should not be used for śrāddha purposes (220. 190-197) as they are fit for asuras. If the prohibited things are eaten unknowingly, one should expiate with fruits, herbs, milk, curds, takra, gomūtra and yāvaka for seven days (220. 200-201).

# Classification of śrāddhas

Śrāddhas have bean variously classified. One classification is into nitya, naimittiko, and kāmya. An observance is called nitya when it is laid down that it must be performed on a certain or fixed occasion (such as on every amāvasyā or on Aṣṭakā day). What is laid down for being done on an occasion which is uncertain, is called naimittika such as the birth of a son. What is ordained to be done in cases where one desires a certain reward or fruit, is called kāmya, e.g., the performance of a śrāddha on kṛttikā or Rohiņī by one who desires heaven or progeny. The Br. P. states that the nitya, naimittika and kāmya śrāddhas should be performed every year, and in nitya śrāddhas, the Viśvedevas are not worshipped, whereas in the naimittika śrāddhas, they are worshipped (220.11, 12).

Another classification is that into Ekoddista and Pārvaņa. The Pārvaņa śrāddha is performed on the amāvāsyā of a month or in the dark half of Bhādrapada or on saņkrānti and in it the three

<sup>95.</sup> Kane, P.V., HDS, Vol. W. 2016 and Seew Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shashir Coll. 2016 and Seew Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

paternal ancestors are principally invoked.96 It is the pattern or norm of the other śrāddhas.

The Br. P. provides the following information regarding the pārvana śrāddha: The pitrs of Pārvaņa śrāddha are those who pārvana stadula are those who have a form (220. 66). This śrāddha should be performed when have a local conjunction of the sun and the moon in one rāśi, janmanakṣatra and grahapīḍā (220. 53), and also when one rash, james of the śrāddha are obtained (220.57,58). It should be performed after the Sapindikarana śrāddha. After its performance the dead get freedom from the form of pretas and get the form of the pitrs (220.63-66). In the Pārvaņa śrāddha, first the Visvedevas are invoked (220.60). If the father is dead and the grandfather is living, the Pārvaņa śrāddha is not performed (220.209).

The Ekoddista śrāddha is that in which only one deceased person is intended to be invoked or benefited.97 The Br. P. provides the following information regarding the Ekoddista śrāddha: When a man gets free from sūtaka, he should perform the Ekoddista śrāddha. He should perform it either on the twelfth day, or at the end of a month or at the end of one and a half months and at the end of every year (220.64). After the cessation of asauca, the Ekoddista śrāddha should be performed and then the tarpana should be given and the agnihotra should be performed and the gifts be given to brāhmanas (220.159). In the absence of a son, a sapinda should perform it, in the absence of a sahodaka, dauhitra should perform it (220.75,76). He should perform the Ekoddista śrāddha of the elder brother and paternal uncle if they have no sons (220.59). The pitrs to whom the Ekoddista śrāddha is offered get the name preta (220.67). In it first the Visvedevas are worshipped. For women, the same type of Ekoddista śrāddha is performed as for men (220,74).

The sapindikarana is the reception of a deceased person into the community of pitrs to whom the pindas are offered. 88 Several occasions were prescribed for the performance of this śrāddha by the ancient works. The Br. P. states that it should be performed at the end of every year (220.65). The procedure of sapindikarana

<sup>96.</sup> Kane, P.V., ibid., Vol. IV, p. 380.

<sup>97.</sup> ibid., p. 516. 98. C. O. Prof. Salya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA 98. Kane HDS, Vol.IV, p. 520.

is described in numerous works.99 The Br. P. (220.69-73) states that this śrāddha does not include the worship of Viśvedevas. Only one arghya is offered and one pavitraka is enjoined. rites of agnikarana and āvāhana too are not to be performed. A number of ayugma brāhmaņas are to be invited. Four vessels for the arghya should be got ready and filled with sandalwood paste, water and sesamum grains, one being for the deceased and three for his paternal ancestors. The arghya is to be offered to the brāhmana representing the preta with the mantras 'ye samānāḥ' and then the water is released in the water of the pitrs. The remaining rites are performed according to the other śrāddhas, when the sapindikarana rite is completed, the preta ceases to be so and himself becomes a pitr (220.66). The status of being a preta involved the experiencing of great torments due to hunger and thirst and becoming a pitr means being brought in contact with the śrāddha devatās called Vasu, Rudra and Aditya. 100 The result of the sapindikarana is that the great grandfather of the deceased whose sapindikarana is performed goes out from the list of pitrs entitled to the pinda and becomes a lepabhāk (entitled only to wipings of the hand) and the former preta becomes one of the pitrs entitled to participate in the pindas offered at a Pārvaņa śrāddha thereafter (220.82-87). In the absence of a son, the sapindīkaraņa śrāddha is not performed. 101 It is also not performed in cases where the father is dead and the grandfather is living (220.209).

Abhyudayika Śrāddha: According to most of the sūtras102 this śrāddha is performed on an auspicious occasion such as the birth of a son, his caula, upanayana or marriage, or at the commencement of an act of charity. The Br. P. states that it should be performed on the astaka, manvantara and anvastaka tithis and it starts with the matr class, i.e., in it first the mother, grandmother and the great grandmother are invoked and then great grandfather (220.52).

<sup>99.</sup> Sān. Gr. V. 9, Kaušītaki Gr. IV.2. Baud. Pitrmedha sūtra III.12.12, Kātyāyana's śrāddhasutrā kandikā 5, Yaj.1.253-254, Vişņu III.13.27, Vişņu Dh.S. 21.12-23, Padma (srsti 10.22-23).

<sup>100.</sup> Kane, HDS Vol.IV, p. 523.

<sup>101. (220.74);</sup> cf. Mark. 28.18.

<sup>102.</sup> Āśv Gr. II.5.13-15, Śan Gr. III. 12.2-5, Gobhila Gr. IV. 3.35-37, Kauśītaki Gr. IV.4, Baud. Gr. III. 12.2-5, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

The Vrddhi Śrāddha: When Yājñavalkya (1.25) says that the Nandimukha Pitrs should be worshipped with pindas when there is Nandimuklas when there is a viddhi (a lucky or auspicious event), he indicates the same thing. According to Br. P. (220.13-14) it should be performed in the jātakarmasamskāras. It should be performed in the dark half when the sun occupies the Kanyārāši. It starts with the recitation of mantras and two brāhmaṇas are invited.

The Daksinā: - Several works provide us with information about the gifts to be given to the brahmanas at the time of the araddha. The Br. P. (219.83) states that the daksinā to brāhmanas should be given in silver coins. Food with corn should be The dana of food mixed with given (219.81). sesame and honey entails endless merit (220.30,31). The clothes that are to be given should be well—washed, white and two angulas long (219.77). The dana of silk, cotton or uncut cloth in the śrāddha gives the highest enjoyment (220.138). The cloth of sana also can be given (220.146,147), but the dana of wool or patavastra should not be given. One should not give cloth which has a border because the pitrs are not happy with it (220.146,147).

The topic of vrsotsarga or the letting loose of a bull has been dealt with by several sūtra works. 104 The Br. P. states that if one of the descendants goes to Gayā or betroths a daughter or releases a blue bull, it gives complete satisfaction to pitrs and one gets the highest status (220.32,33).

# The Śrāddha Ceremony

Numerous procedures are laid down by various works for various śrāddhas. The Br. P. gives the following details regarding the procedures of the performance of the śrāddha. A śrāddha should be performed with the help of a brahmana well-versed in the Vedas (220.59). The food was first offered to the pitrs. Then the five mantras-Trimadhu, Trisuparņa, Brhadarānyaka, Saurasūkta and Purusasūkta-were recited. Then food was given to the

<sup>103.</sup> Skanda (VI.218.12-14), Āśramavāsikaparva (14.3-4), Vāyu ch. 80, Šāntiparva ch.42.7, Aśvamedhikaparva (62.2-5), Anuśasanaparva (ch. 96). 104. San Gr. III.11, Kausitaki Grecifi, New Highly of Syls 3 Foundation USA Vishu Dh. S. Ch. 86.1-20.

brahmanas. After eating it the brahmanas should break the vow of silence observed by them while eating. After that the vessel of pinda was given to Chāyā. The food was divided into two parts and each part was again divided into three parts. Then the varāhabhūmi was made clean and kuśa grass was spread on it. Then a pinda of fragrant flowers, sesame, herbs and kuśa grass should be offered with devotion to the grandfather. The food remaining after the pindas should be given to lepabhāks. Then cloth which is white. clean and two inches long should be given in dana. Then water mixed with sesame should be offered first to pitrs and then to the gods. After that the aghamarşana sükta should be mumbled thrice. After releasing the pavitraka, the oblation consisting of milk, honey, sesame, etc., should be offered and the daksina in silver given to Brähmanas after bowing to them (219.65-91). Further, it is said that the offering of kuśa grass should be offered on the ground outside and near water to one who has died recently and the rites of collecting the bones and other ceremonies should be done on the third day after death (220.61, 62). After giving dinner to brāhmanas, the nitya karmans should be performed and the dinner should be served to the guests. Some suggest that this ceremony is performed in honour of the pitrs, whereas others say that it has nothing to do with them. Some say that a separate paka should be prepared for the pitrs, while others say that all the rites should be performed with the paka prepared first (220.121-126). Just as out of many cows, the calf finds out its mother, similarly, the food give to brahmanas in śraddhas reaches the jīva. The deceased get the satisfaction through the śrāddha which cannot be had by name, gotra, etc. A mantra<sup>105</sup> should be recited at the beginning and end of every sraddha. This mantra should be recited with concentration at the time of pindadana also (220.140-145). It is said that in the case of one whose father is dead but the grandfather is living, one should offer the pindas to the father. The grandfather should be given a dinner and then a pinda should be offered to the great grandfather. It is prescribed that the pinda should be offered to the dead and a dinner to the living. In such conditions, the Sapindikarana and the Pārvana śrāddha are not performed (220.207-209). If among the sapindas, after the death of one,

<sup>105.</sup> Devatābhyaśca pitrbhyaśca mahāyonibhyaśca ewa cāgundation USA ... CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrai Spashi voltyańca mahāyonibhyaśca ewa cāgundation USA ...

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another death occurs immediately, then the impurity of the second ceases together with that of the first and therefore the śrāddha for both should be performed within the remaining days while the impurity of the first lasts (221.154-156).

# Rewards of Śrāddha

The Br. P. shows different ways of offering pindas to different people in order to attain various aims. In order to get enjoyment, the pinda should be thrown into fire after the śrāddha. One desirous of a son should first invoke the grandfather and then give the pinda to his wife who should then eat it. One who wants brilliance should offer it to cows. One desiring intelligence and fame should throw the pinda to crows. One who wants to have a kumārasālā should

offer the pinda to the kukkutas (220.149-151).

One acting according to the prescribed rites of śraddha is blessed with long life, wealth and sons. Those who study this adhyaya related to pitrmedha satisfy the pitrs for three yugas. The study destroys sins and increases merit. The adhyāya related to pitrmedha should be read with a concentrated mind at the time of performing a sraddha (220.210,211). The ancestors who have fallen in the yoni of birds or beasts get satisfaction by the śrāddha performed according to proper rites. By spreading food on the ground, the ancestors who have fallen in the Piśāca-yoni get satisfaction. ancestors who have fallen in the yoni of trees get comfort from the water from the wet cloth after a bath. The water falling from the body satisfies those pitrs who have obtained the devabhava. The water falling at the time of taking up the pindas satisfies those pitrs who have fallen in the yoni of birds or beasts. The child who has died before getting teeth and who therefore has no right of burning is comforted by the water of sammārjana. The water of ācamana taken by the brāhmaņas satisfies all the pitrs. The money earned through injustice satisfies those pitrs who have fallen into the Cāṇḍāla-yoni (220.82-98). The pitrs satisfied in the śrāddha confer the blessings of Vasu, Rudra, Aditya, nakṣatra, graha and the stars. They give long life, progeny, wealth, knowledge, heaven, liberation, happiness and kingdom (220,117-118).

Penance

In India ascetic practices have been widely prevalent from ancient times. The mortification of the body and the self-inflicted pain as penances were carried to lengths beyond anything familiar to other people. The thought that essentially underlies the Indian conception of asceticism, and promotes the adoption of the ascetic life, is the desire to escape from the samsāra, the never-ending cycle or round of successive existences, in which all created beings are involved, and which brings in its train the suffering and misery to which all such beings are subject. 106

The term is 'tapas' from the root 'tap' 'to be hot', 'to burn' signifying in the first instance 'warmth' or 'heat'. Then the feelings or sensations, usually painful, experienced in consequence of heat; and therefore pain or suffering in general, especially pain volun-

tarily accepted and self-inflicted from a religious motive.

In the Puranas, the ascetics are glorified to a very great extent and the essential principles of renunciation of worldly possessions and voluntary endurance of bodily pain as the means for the deliverance from the samsara and the acquisition of supernatural powers are overlaid with a mass of extravagant fancy and repellent detail in the lives of the ascetics. The Br.P. lays great stress on the practice of penance. It states that there are various types of penances and each leads to a different result. The period of penance is also laid down. Thus the sage Atri practised the penance named Anuttara for 3,000 divine years and became stronger thereafter (9.2-3). When the daity as and the danayas defeated the gods, Aditi, the mother of gods, prayed to lord Surya with a concentrated mind observing all regulations and without eating anything (32.11). Ekaparna practised penance eating only one leaf as her name suggests. Ekapāṭalā did the same eating only one patala and Aparna practised penance without eating anything at all (34.81-89). The sage Kandu practised penance in his hermitage observing vratas, fasts, niyama, silence and restraint. In the summer he suffered the heat of five fires, in the rainy season he slept on the open altar and in the Hemanta season he practised penance with wet clothes (178.11-12).

106. ERE., Vol.II, pp. 87-96.

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Different people practise penance for different purposes. Thus Sailendra practised penance in order to get a child and eventually Umā was born to him (34.76). Many kings and queens practised penance in order to get a son. Thus king Kusika practised penance for a thousand years to get a son as powerful as Indra and eventually Indra himself come to him in the form of his son Gadhi; (10.23-25). King Devävrdha practised severe penance to get a son; and maintained himself on the water of the river Parnāsā during the period of penance and finally he get the son Babhru by the river Parņāšā who came to him in the form of a maiden (15.35-36). Similarly, Dhūminī, the devoted wife of king Ajamīdha, performed vratas, offered oblations, slept on kuśa grass and practised penance for 10,000 years and eventually got the son Rksa (13.103-105). Svāhā, the wife of Agni (128.4) and Saibyā, the wife of king Jyāmagha (15.20) practised penance to get a son. King Uttānapāda practised penance for 3,300 divine years in order to get fame (II.10). Lord Parasurama performed an Asvamedha and practised penance in order to expiate his sins and it is believed that he is even now practising penance on the mountain Mahendra (213.118-122). Satarūpā practised penance for 10,000 years to get a good husband (II.2). Arjuna, son of Krtavirya, practised penance for 10,000 years, worshipped lord Dattatreya and obtained a thousand hands (13.160-161). Pracetas practised penance and attained great powers (II.32). To practise penance on the Gangasagara samgama is highly meritorious (122.7).

Various rewards can be obtained by practising penance. The Br.P. states that there is nothing which cannot be obtained by the power of penance (129.49). Thus by the power of penance, the moon was made a king of seeds, herbs, water and brahmanas (9.12); Yayati and his wife attained heaven (12.47,48); Ravana, Vibhīşaņa and Kumbhakarņa got boons from Lord Brahmā (97.8). But once it is stated that though the Angirasas practised severe penance, as they had not asked the permission of their mother for it, their penance did not entail any merit (158.7). This, in short, is the supremacy of the aspect of penance as treated in the Br.P.

Pilgrimage

All religions laid great emphasis on the sacredness of certain locali-CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Spassification them Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA the dharmas to be practised by man is his life.<sup>107</sup> To gaze upon the scenes amid which the deity has dwelt, to bathe in the rivers that once loved his mystical incarnate frame, to halt at noonday under hoary trees beneath which the divine presence has reposed, to pray upon the mountain hallowed by his lonely communings, and to behold in the everlasting rock the footprints of god, are longings which have, at one period or another, filled the imagination and stirred the innermost heart of all noble races.<sup>108</sup> The grandeur and sublimity of snow-capped mountains, of large life-sustaining rivers and of great forests easily impress the minds of almost all people and induce them to think that the supreme being is partially revealed in such surroundings.<sup>109</sup>

In the Rgveda, the rivers are considered as holy and are deified but pilgrimage in its modern sense is not referred to, and even in the brahmanas while particular sanctity attaches to rivers and certain privileged regions, like the banks of the Saraswatī, there is no mention either of pilgrimages or holy places. 110 In the sūtras and ancient Smrtis like those of Manu (VIII.92) and Yājñavalkya, tīrthas do not occupy a very prominent position. Gautama (XIX.14) however declares, "all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwelling of rsis, cow-pens, and temples of gods are the places which destroy sin." In the Mahābhārata and the Purāņas, they are highly lauded. The origin of the modern practice may be traced to the revival of brahmanism and its absorption of local cults. Every place where a local spirit was propitiated or worshipped soon came under the control of a body of local priests, interested in attracting visitors because their offerings formed a means of livelihood.111

Literature on tirthas is very extensive. The Br.P. devotes about 6,7000 verses, i.e., nearly half of its total number of 13,783 verses to tirthas. The Br.P. lays the greatest emphasis on the cultivation of high moral and spiritual qualities if the full reward of pilgrimages is to be reaped. It says, "He whose hands, feet and mind are well controlled and who possesses knowledge, austerities and a

<sup>107.</sup> Vişnu Dharma Sütra, II.16-17.

<sup>108.</sup> Hunter, Orissa, Vol.I, p. 136. 109. Kane, P.V., HDS., Vol. IV, p.561.

<sup>110.</sup> A. Barth, Religions of India.

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good reputation derives the full reward of pilgrimages." Further, it states, "a heart that is wicked is not purified by baths at holy places, just as a vessel in which liquor is carried remains impure even after being washed with water hundreds of times; tīrthas, gifts, vratas or residence in hermitages does not purify a man whose heart is wicked, who resorts to hypocrisy and whose senses have gone astray. Wherever a man who has his senses under control may dwell, there are present Kurukṣetra, Prayāga and Puṣkara" (25.4-6).

Since ancient times numberless tirthas have been mentioned. The Br.P. says that the number of tirthas and shrines is so large that one cannot enumerate them in detail even in hundreds of years (175.83, 25.7-8). The Br.P. classifies the tīrthas into four divisions in descending order of merit, viz., daiva (created by gods), āsura (those associated with such asuras as Gaya), ārşa (those established by sages such as Prabhāsa and Nārāyaṇa) and Manuşa (created by kings like Ambarīşa, Manu and Kuru). It enumerates six rivers to the south of the Vindhya and six rivers having their source in the Himālayas as most holy and as devatīrthas, viz., Godāvarī, Bhīmarathī, Tungabhadrā, Veņikā, Tapti, Payoṣṇī, Bhāgīrathī, Narmadā, Yamunā, Saraswatī, Viśokā and Vitastā. Similarly, the tīrthas surrounded by Gaya, Kolla, Vrtra, Tripura, Andhaka, Hayamurdhā, Lavaņa, Namuci, Śrngaka, Yama, Pātālaketu, Maya and Puşkara are the Asuratīrthas. The tīrthas associated with the sages Prabhāsa, Bhargava, Agasti, Nara, Nārāyaņa, Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Kaśyapa, Manu etc., are called the rşitīrthas and the tīrthas established by kings like Ambarīşa, Hariścandra, Māndhātā, Manu, Kuru, Kanakhala, Bhadrāśva, Sagara, Aśvayūpa, Naciketā, and Vṛṣākapi and called the Mānusatīrthas; (70.16-19, 33-40). Elsewhere the Br.P. assigns daiva, āsura, ārşa and mānuşa tīrthas respectively to the Krta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kaliyuga.

The digests quote certain verses of the Br.P. about the rites to be performed when a person decides to start on a pilgrimage but they are not found in the Br.P. available at present. The Br.P. they are not found in the Br.P. available at present. The Br.P. provides Nāndimukha śrāddha, purification of body, dinner to brāhmaṇas, remaining celebate and not talking with patita people when one is on a pilgrimage to Godāvarī (76.18-19).

<sup>112. 25.2;</sup> Vanaparva 92.11, 93.20-23, Vāya 110.4-5, Šankhasmṛti 8.15, Agni 109.1-2, Skanda I.2.2.5-6.

The Br.P. deals extensively with the Purusottamatīrtha. It devotes about 1,600 verses to this tirtha. The anecdote related to this tirtha, has been dealt with in the section on 'worship,' of this chapter. At present the sacred enclosure of Jagannatha includes one hundred and twenty temples containing various forms of god on temples of Siva, a larger number of Parvati and a temple of the sun. Almost every sect of Hindu religion is represented here and the Br.P. also expresses the tolerant view that all the wranglings between Saivas and Vaisnavas should be forbidden and that Siva and Visnu are really speaking one and the same (56.64-66, 69-70). Further the Br.P. states that the Purusottama-ksetra is the greatest and the highest tīrtha. In the Purușottama-kșetra, there are five important tirthas—the pool of Markandeya, the vata tree. Balarama, the sea and the Indradyumna pool—and it describes these at length (60.11). The name of Jagannatha still draws the faithful devotees from hundred provinces of India.113 One who goes for the Gudiva yatra which lasts for one week, and is held on the bank of the Indradyumna stream where Lord Krsna, Balarāma and Subhadra are worshipped, gets all the desired objects and attains liberation (a.66). It appears that Gudivā is the summer house of Jagannatha about two miles from the great temple. word is probably derived from gundi, which means a thick log of wood in Bengali and Uriya, and has reference to the legend of log of wood, that king Indradyumna found floating in the sea. 114

The Br.P. highly eulogizes all the tīrthas situated on the bank of the river Godavari. Once it is said that the ocean is the best among all the tīrthas (62.16-21). Some of the tīrthas take their names after some incidents. The Br.P. states that the place where lord Tryambaka manifested himself before the sage Gautama is called Tryambaka-tīrtha (79.6). The place where Sakra obtained the Mṛtasaṃjīvanīvidyā from Lord Mahādeva, is called Sakratīrtha (95.31). The place where the gods became free from sins is called the Pāpapraṇāśana tīrtha (110.215). The place where the cows are purified is called Gotīrtha (110.216). The place where Indra befriended the Maruts is called Mitratīrtha and where he regained his Lakṣmi is called Kamalā tīrtha (124.137-139). The Br.P. states that one who goes on a pilgrimage of the Bindusaras on the eighth

<sup>113.</sup> Hunter, Orissa, Vol.I, p.137.

C114. Kane P.W.; aHDStriVollEVice. 781w Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

day of the dark half of the month Margaśirşa in the Vişuva Yoga with restrained senses and offers tarpaṇa of sesame and water by reciting the names and gotras in honour of gods, sages, men and the pitrs gets the merit of performing Aśvamedha. The dāna given to brāhmaṇas at Bindusaras on the days of grahaṇa, viṣuvayoga, saṃkrānti, ayanārambha and the eighty-six yugādi tithis entails hundred-fold merits (41.55,66).

The Br.P. specifies some holy pilgrimages by completing which one attains special rewards. Thus one who goes for a pilgrimage known as Damanamanjika in honour of lord Konaditya in the bright half of the month Caitra gets liberation. One who makes this pilgrimage at the time of the rising and setting of the sun, on the day of samkranti, in the visuvayoga, at the beginning of uttarayana and daksinayana, on Sunday, on the seventh day or on some auspicious day, goes to the world of the sun in a bright flying vehicle (28.53-56).

#### Vrata

The aspect of 'vrata' has been treated at great length by M.M. Kane. The Br.P. states that in the performance of a vrata, all the rites regarding the sacrifice, dāna, tapas, homa, dhyāna, ācamana and fast were to be observed (46.29). Similarly, it was considered to be the most holy thing to perform the vratas on some special days like the tenth day of the bright half of the month Jyeṣṭha (a.30). The Br.P. states that pregnant woman should observe vratas.

The Br.P. deals with the following vratas:

(i) Arkasaptamīvrata: One who eating once on the sixth day worships the sun gets the merit of Aśvamedha on the seventh day. One who after observing a fast on the seventh day of the black half worships sun with controlled senses goes to Sūryaloka in a vehicle as lustrous as a lotus. The seventh day of the bright half is called Arkasaptamī and it is the day for the worship of lord sun. It is Arkasaptamī and on that day one should observe a also called Vijayāsaptamī and on that day one should observe a fast, and worship the sun with white objects and drink from a cup fast, and worship the sun with white objects and drink from a cup

years. This saptamī fulfils all desires. The snāna, dāna, tapas, homa and fast performed on that day destroy grave sins. The srāddha performed on this day bestows desires. Those who perform all the actions in honour of the sun are not prone to disease or poverty. One who worships the sun with fragrant flowers and anoints the temple either with red or white or yellow clay gets the desired rewards. A giver of light gets fortune and beauty. One who offers to the sun red flowers mixed with red candana at the time of its rising gets the desired results. At the time of rising and setting, one should recite a mantra or a stotra and it is said that this Ādityavrata destroys grave sins. It is said that one should worship the sun on the seventh day of the bright half of the month of Māgha. The details regarding his worship have already been described in the section on 'worship' in this chapter.

(ii) Gudivā Yātrā: This yātrā consists of seven days. One who goes on this pilgrimage on the bank of the stream in the Utkala Pradesh and one who worships Krsna, Balarama and Subhadra there with fragrant flowers, dhupa, lights and naivedya, various types of upahāra, jayasabda, stotras, music and songs gets the desired things. One who has no son gets a son, a poor man gets wealth, one afflicted with a desire gets cured. One gets long life, fame, intelligence, strength, knowledge, forbearance, animals, beauty, prosperity, youth and progeny. This yatra should be performed in the bright half of the month Aṣādha. One gets the merit of fifteen Aśvamedhas, saves his upper seven families and lower seven families, goes to Vișnupura in an aeroplane and at the end of his meritorious deeds, he comes back in the world, becomes a Caturvedī brāhmaņa, takes Vaisnavayoga and attains liberation. 117 Elsewhere it is stated that the twelve yatras should be performed in the month of Jyeştha (67.5).

(iii) Damanmañjika: One who makes this pilgrimage in the bright half of the month of Caitra and one who makes it on a Sunday at the auspicious time of either sunrise or sunset and in the samkrānti in the vişuvayāna goes to the Sūryaloka in an aeroplane.<sup>118</sup>

 <sup>29.29-45;</sup> cf. also Hemādri's Vratakhanda, Vol.I.788-789; Padma p. 76.86-106; Adityavrata is mentioned in Hemādri's Vratakhanda II.589.

<sup>117.</sup> Br.P., a.66; cf. also Gadādharapaddhati, Kālasāra portion, 186.

(iv) Vrsotasarga: One who lets loose a blue bull in krttikā nakṣatra after offering worship to the pitṛs goes to heaven, 119

The Br.P. also states that the vratas like krechra and candrayana

were performed in order to get success (241.19,32.33).

The vrata mentioned by Kane, 120 as obtained from Br.P., viz. Gauricaturthivrata, 121 Tārātrirātravrata, 122 Devayātrotsava, 123 Drākṣābhokṣaṇavrata, 124 Putrakāmavrata, 125 Putrotpattivrata, 126 Bhadrakālivrata, 127 Matsyadvādašī, 128 Madanatrayodašī, 129 Vitaspnadiana, vitas-tapūjā, 130 Sasyotsava, 131 Himapūjā, 132 are not given in the present Br.P. (An.ed.)

### Samskāras

The term samskāras is derived from the root samkṛghañ and is used in a variety of ways. The Mīmāmsakas mean by it the ceremonial purification of sacrificial materials. 143 The Advaita Vedantists regard it as the false attribution of physical action to the soul.134 The Naiyāyikas use it in the sense of self-reproductive quality of faculty of impression recognized by the Vaiseşikas as one of the twenty-four gunas. It is used in a very wide range of senses in the classical Sanskrit literature to mean education, cultivation, training, 135 refinement, perfection and grammatic purity, 136 making

- 119. 220.33; Hemādri's Vratakhanda II.983-997, Smṛtikaustubha 390-405, Kane P.V., Vol.IV, pp.539-542.
- 120. HDS., Vol.V, p.2.
- 121. ibid., p.296.
- 122. ibid., p.305.
- 123. ibid., p.316.
- 124. ibid., p.317.
- 125, ibid., p.343.
- 126. ibid., p.345. 127. ibid., p.359.
- 128. ibid., p. 368.
- 129. ibid.,
- 130. ibid., p.407.
- 131. ibid., p.445.
- 133. Prokşanādijanyasamskāro yajñāngapurodāśeşviti,
- dravyadharmān vācaspatyabrhadābhidhāna. 134. ibid., Snānacamanādijanyah saṃskāradeho,
- 134. ibid., Snānacamanādijanyan sautsaudu.

  utpādyamānāpi tadabhimani Jiv kalpyante.

  135. Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA
- 136. Kumārasambhava, I.28.

perfect, refining, polishing, <sup>137</sup> embellishment, decoration and ornament, <sup>138</sup> impression, form, mould, operation, influence, <sup>139</sup> the faculty of recollection, impression on the memory, <sup>140</sup> a purificatory rite, a sacred rite or ceremony, <sup>141</sup> consecration, sanctification and hallowing, idea, notion and conception, effect of work, merit of action, etc. <sup>142</sup>

The Regreda contains incidental references which throw light on the saṃskāras but it does not contain positive rules about them. The Sāmaveda follows the same train. The Yajurveda represents an advanced stage, but the Atharvaveda is rich in information about popular religion, rites and ceremonies. The Brāhmaṇas supply some data for constructing the history of the saṃskāras. The Āranyakas and the Upaniṣads are mainly concerned with philosophical subjects and do not condescend to deal with rituals. In the Upaniṣads, we have many references relating to the upanayana saṃskāra. But the Śrautasūtras, and the Gṛhyasūtras should be considered as the literature giving proper information regarding the rituals. The Dharmasūtras and the smṛtis are concerned more with the social conduct of men rather Than ritual. Epic literature was used by the brāhmaṇas for propagation of their culture and religion.

The Purāṇas are very important for the study of the Saṃskāras. Even the earliest dharmasūtras bear witness to the popularity of the Purāṇas which they often quote. They are in many ways connected with the smṛtis. The Āpastamba-dharmasūtra refers specially to the Bhaviṣya Purāṇa. Caland traced close relation between the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa and the Gautamasṃrti, the Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa and the Viṣṇusmṛti, the Caturviṃsati Purāṇa and the Mānavaśrāddha kalpa, the Kūrma Purāṇa and the Uśanasmṛti and the Brahma Purāṇa and the rites of kathās. The Purāṇas also served as an abrogative agency and came to rescue Hindu society in the middle ages. Many old customs and usages

<sup>137.</sup> Raghuvamša V. iii. 18.

<sup>138.</sup> Sākuntala vii. 23.

<sup>139.</sup> Hitopadeša, I.8.

<sup>140</sup> Tarkasamgraha, cf, Samskärajanyam Gyanam Smrtih, 141. Manusmrti II.26

<sup>142.</sup> Raghuvamša V.1.

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that had become obsolete or obnoxious to the society were tabooed under Kalivarjya by the Brahma and the Aditya Purāṇas. 143

The Br. P. does not deal with Saṃskāras at length but makes stray references to some Saṃskāras. For example, the sīmanton-nayana ceremony was performed (100.26). It was the third saṃskāra of the embryo and it was called sīmanta. The purpose of this saṃskāra was partly superstitious and partly practical. People believed that a woman in her pregnancy was subject to evil spirits and some rite was performed to ward them off. There is also reference to the performance of the Jātakarma saṃskāras of a child (8.41). The birth of a child was considered to be so wonderful, that it was attributed to some superhuman agency. In the gṛhyasūtras this saṃskāra is fully described. It was performed before the severing of the navel. The purpose of the performance of the Jātakarma saṃskāras was medhājanana, āyusya and procreating strength.

The Nāmakaraṇa ceremony was also performed. The Hindus realized quite early the importance of naming persons and converted the system of naming into a religious ceremony. The name is given either according to the nakṣatra, or the month-deity, or the family-deity. A popular name also was given. The Br. P. states that the sage Garga performed the Nāmakaraṇa ceremony of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma (184.29-30). The Br. P. also refers to the Cūḍā-karma or tonsure ceremony (111.8). Chopping off the hair by means of an iron instrument was a new and exciting scene. People knew that it would clean the head, but at the same time they were afraid that it might injure the person. Necessity and fear both mingled together and gave rise to Cūḍākarana ceremonies. 147

The Br. P. refers to the Upanayana saṃskāra (107.5). Ceremonies performed in connection with youth are universally prevalent. Their object is to prepare young men for entering on the active duties of citizenship. Among the brāhmaṇas, the Upanayana ceremony is compulsory even now. The Br. P. also

<sup>143.</sup> Pandey R.B., Hindu Samskaras, pp.16-17.

<sup>144.</sup> ibid., pp.112-115.

<sup>145.</sup> ibid., pp.116-129.146. Bṛhaspati quoted in Vīra-Mitrodaya Samskāra-Prakāša.

<sup>147.</sup> Pandey, R.B., op.cit., pp.158-171.

<sup>148.</sup> Sold., Ppf. 1860 Wrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

refers to the samskaras of marriage of Siva performed by Brahma

(36.129-133).

The Br. P. refers to the Antyeşţi saṃskāras and states that Arjuna performed the Antyeşţi saṃskāras of the family of Yādavas after Kṛṣṇa's death (212.1, 2).

#### Dāna

Gifts, especially religious gifts form an important subject with the early legislators of India, and according to Sanskrit law books the receipt of gifts constitutes one of the principal sources of income of a brāhmaṇa and consequently Sanskrit treatise deal at great length on the subject of dāna. 149

The Br. P. also makes stray references to the subject of dāna. It deals mainly with the dāna of gold, food and cows. It is stated that the king Indradyumna gave gold, jewels, elephants and horses in dāna (44.6), and it was believed that one who gives the dāna of gold gets a son (124.130). Annadāna is the highest type of dāna and it is considered to be greater than bhūmidāna (83.21). The dāna of a cow is also considered to be better than the dāna of the land (91.12, 155.12). One who gives a cow to a brāhmaņa in the koṭitīrtha gets koṭi benefits (a. 148).

There are references to various sorts of gifts. The ground on which the crop is grown is the mother and one who gives the dana of such land near the river Ganga gets the desired results. One who gives such land, and also a cow and herbs in dana to a brāhmaņa in the honour of Brahmā, Visnu and Siva gets the desired objects. One who after knowing that the herbs are loved by Soma and that Soma was the husband of herbs gives auşadhis in dana to a brahmana gets the desired objects, and gets himself established in the Brahmaloka. Those who give herbs in dana are saved by Soma and also those who give them as havya, kavya, amrta and the things useful in food are its parts (120.4-13). The dana of a hundred cows, a hundred daughters, a hundred golden coins, land, food, water, sesame-cow, elephant, horse, chariots, golden horns, jaladhenu, ghrtadhenu and candrayana cirna was given (65.69-73). The dana of money, clothes, gold, govastra, umbrella and bell-metal vessels is also mentioned (67.41-43). It was believed that the dana of sesame, cows, money and corn given on the bank of the Gangā entails great rewards (83.26). It is on the bank dana given in honour of the pitrs on the bank of also said the fautami and especially at the kotitirtha entails endless merits (a. 148). One who gives the dana of a lamp always shines by the light of knowledge and as the wick of the lamp always rises higher so also one who gives the dana of light never falls into the Tiryag-yoni (29.40).

## MORALS AND SANCTIONS

The Br. P. in continuation with the dharmaśāstras and the smṛtis, prescribes detailed rules of behaviour (sadācāra) for people in different situations, and for different occasions. These pertain to regulations regarding food, dress, bath, ācamana, purification from defilement on account of various reasons and many other aspects—all reflecting the importance of the social aspect of individual behaviour.<sup>1</sup>

The Br. P. states that a householder must always observe virtuous practices as without them there is no happiness either here or hereafter. Sacrifice, alms-giving and austerities do not tend to make for welfare of a man if they are not performed in a right manner. A man who follows bad practices does not receive a long life here, while virtuous behaviour destroys whatever is inauspicious (221.6-8).

The Br. P. throws light on the various aspects covering the daily routine of one's life. It states that a man should get up in the early morning at the Brāhma-muhūrta, should reflect on righteousness and wealth.<sup>2</sup> He should then rinse his mouth, stand facing the east with self-restraint and purity and worship the twilight with constellations in the east and the sun in the west (221.17, 18). With restraint he should offer the homa oblation morning and evening, and should not gaze up at the orb of the sun or sunset (221.18). He should look in a mirror in order to dress

<sup>1.</sup> Alice Gardner, ERE., Vol. 12.

<sup>2.</sup> For discussion regarding the beginning of the day, Vide Kane P.V., HDS., Vol. II. Part I have 656 february in P

his hair, should wash his teeth and please the gods in the forenoon (221.21). In the forenoon he should worship the gods and at noon and in the afternoon the pitrs. After bathing he should perform the ceremonies in honour of the gods and the pitrs (221.72). He should satisfy the guests, kinsmen, living creatures and dependents with food (221.26). Having performed his household worship in the fitting place and in the proper order, he should worship fire with oblations in the right order. He should make the first offering to Brahmā, then to Prajāpati, third to Guhyas, next to Kasyapa, then to Anumati (the 15th day of the moon's age, personified). He should then offer the household bali and the regular oblations according to the ritual. He should make an offering to the Viśvedvas, then an offering to all creatures, and again separately to the gods according to each one's place and apportionment. He should make the three oblations to Parjanya, Dharitris, and to Vayu in every direction, to the east and other regions of the sky in due order, to Brahmā, to the air, and the sun, to the Viśvedevas and all beings. He should then offer to the dawn, and northwards to Siva and southwards to the pitrs exclaiming 'Svadhā-reverence. Having done this on the right and to the north-west saying 'O yaksma' he may offer the remains of food and water from the vessel according to rule. He should perform ceremonies to the gods and other objects of worship with the special portion of the hand prescribed for each god. A line drawn to the left of the thumb of the right hand is the portion of the hand sacred to Brahmā and the part between the forefinger and the thumb is the portion sacred to the pitrs, and the tip of fingers is the portion sacred to the gods. All the ceremonies should be performed using these respective portions of the hand (221.86-98). After walking along the high roads and after taking a bath, satisfying hunger and thirst, and after relieving oneself from weariness, one should change one's cloth and daily rinse out one's mouth (221.131-132).

There are rules of good behaviour. A man should strive to attain the three purusarthas. A quarter of his wealth should be laid aside for the next world, half of his wealth should be kept for his maintenance and for the performance of periodic śrāddhas, and the remaining quarter should be considered as capital which and the remaining quarter should be should exert himself to increase (221.11-13).

One should exert himself to increase (221.11-13).

One should exert himself to increase (221.11-13).

One should offer a seat to the gurus accompanied by rinsing the mouth and other respectful acts and should converse with them agreeably, should follow them and should not speak adversely about them (221.31, 32). One should clear the path for brāhmaṇas, the king, for one who is ill, for those superior in learning, a pregnant woman, for a man afflicted with diseases, for the dumb, for blind, and the deaf, and a drunkard and a mad man (221.39, 40). One should respectfully circumambulate a temple and a figtree standing on a sacred spot and a place where four roads meet, (221.40, 41). One should avoid deed that causes pain to others and the infliction of pain on living creatures (221.74). One should revere the brāhmaṇas according to one's ability with an offering of milk and honey, one should always respect brāhmaṇas and not answer back even when they scold (221.83-85).

There are many acts which a man should abstain from performing in order to preserve the right mode of behaviour. Many of the rules are simply hygienic but as religion pervaded all aspects of a man's life, the rules of law, of morality, of health and hygiene and of religion are all mixed up. Thus it is said that one should eschew conversation with the wicked, refrain from speaking falsehoods, using harsh speech, evil books and evil words (221.19). An intelligent man should not speak of another's fault except in the event of his being injured by it (221.22). A wise man should never stand with his foot or leg extended, nor should he throw out both his feet or press one foot with another. He should eschew scandal, abuse and calumny. A clever man should not indulge in deceit or self-conceit. He should not discourse with ridiculous fools, insane persons, the deformed, or magicians and those who are deficient in limbs or have superfluous ones. He should not inflict punishment on a son or a disciple when instructing him (221.43-47). One should not revile or ridicule the gods, the Vedas, dvijas, good, truthful and magnanimous men, a guru, or devoted and virtuous wives, or persons who are performing sacrifices or austerities. Nor should one listen to unmannerly persons. One should not mount on a very high bed or sit on a low one (221.78-82). A sensible man should not carry water and fire at the same time, nor should he thrust out both his feet towards guru and gods (221.101). A wise man should never stand in gardens and other places in the afternoons, nor should Che reconverse rwith a woman hated by the people or talk to a widow

(221.139, 140). He should not defecate or urinate in a path leading to villages or temples, to places of pilgrimage or to the fields, nor on cultivated ground, nor in a cattle-pan. He should not void his urine, defecate or engage in sexual intercourse in water. He should not gaze at another man's naked wife and should not look at his own faeces (221.22-24). He should not step on faeces. urine, hair, ashes or potsherds and a wise man should not step on husk, charcoal, bones or decayed things, or on rope, clothing etc., whether on a road or elsewhere (221.24, 25). He should not defecate or void urine while walking or standing (221.29).

One should not look at the sun, the moon or the constellations with strong desire; and should avoid a broken seat, bed and cup (221,30, 31). He should not scratch his head frequently without any reason. And when his head is washed he should not apply any oil to his body and he should stop reading when everyone else abstains from reading (221.33, 36). He should not talk of his guru's evil deeds and should appease him when he is angry. He should not listen to abuse when others utter it (221.38). He should not carry shoes, clothes, garlands, etc., left by others. He should avoid oil anointments and sexual intercourse on the fourteenth, eighth and fifteenth days of the month (221.41-43). A man should not sleep with his head to the north, or west but he should sleep placing his head to the north-east or east (221.49,50). One should not look at a heifer sucking and should not drink water with the hands joined together. He should not blow the fire with his mouth (221.102).

Elaborate rules for ācamana are laid down in several smṛtis.<sup>3</sup> The Br. P. states that one should take one's food after duly rinsing one's mouth with frothless, odourless, pure and holy water (221.63). He should drink water three or four times after twice wiping the sides of his mouth, the apertures of the body, and his head. He should rinse out his mouth when he has sneezed or spat out or donned his raiment. After sneezing, licking, vomitting or spitting he should rinse out his mouth, touch a cow's back and look at the sun, or, he should hold up his right ear (221.65-69).

<sup>3.</sup> Kane P.V., op. cit., pp. 315-316.

Various kinds of snāna and procedures about snāna are laid down in nibandhas and śāstras.<sup>4</sup> The Br. P. states that one should not bathe in perfumed water and at night. Bathing except by day is declared to be most potent for calamity and he should not apply unguents when he has not bathed (221.51, 52). After shaving, vomitting and sexual intercourse, the wise man should go to the cremation grounds and have a bath with his clothes on (221.79). The earth to be used like soap for cleansing the body was to be taken from a pure place and not from a place beneath the water, or from an ant-hill, or from a ground infested with mice and where purificatory actions have been done (221.64).<sup>5</sup>

The rules and regulations about food and drink etc., framed by the law-givers were based on rules of a system of hygiene science were obviously meant to preserve the purity physical as well as intellectual and cultural of the Aryans.6 The Br. P. also lays down many rules and restrictions regarding food and drinks. Thus it states that a man should eat after respectful salutation to the pitrs. the gods, mankind and living creatures. He should always eat his food facing the east or north, restraining his speech, with his mind intent on food and his face between the knees (221.26, 27). He should take his food evening and morning after respectful greetings to his guest (221.48). One should not eat when unbathed, when resting, while thinking of other things, when sitting on his bed or on the earth, nor when making a sound nor when clad in a single garment, nor when speaking, nor without giving to those looking on, but he should eat according to rules after taking his bath morning and evening (221.58, 60).

Rice that has been kept a while, mixed with oil and long stored should be eaten while wheat, barley, buttermilk and preparations thereof be kept unmixed with oil. The hare, the tortoise, the gosamp, the porcupine and the rhinoceros may be eaten and the domesticated pig and fowl may not be eschewed (221.111).

<sup>4.</sup> For a detailed discussion regarding snāna, vide Kane P.V., op. cit., pp. 656-668.

Vide also Dakşa (II.44-45), Sātātapa quoted by Grhya Ratnākara, p.188, Parašaramādhavīya I., Part I, p.271, and Atri 321-322 for the seven kinds tofearth to be avoided.

<sup>6.</sup> Pandya M.C., Intelligent man's guide to Indian Philosophy, p. 314. CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

The practice of daily danta-dhāvana (brushing teeth) has existed in India from the most ancient times.<sup>7</sup> The Br. P. states that one should always wash one's teeth facing eastwards or northwards and restraining the voice (221.48). One should not gnash one's teeth, nor beat one's own body. One should always avoid sleep, reading and food during both the twilight hours and sexual intercourse and setting out on journeys in the evening twilight (221.70, 71). One should trim one's beard facing eastwards or northwards (221.72). He should guard his wife, should shun jealousy by day, in sleep and during sexual intercourse (221.74). One should not dress unbecomingly, nor speak so. One should be clad in pure white raiments and adorned with white flowers (221.81, 82).

As regards the dwelling place it is stated that one should not take up one's abode where four things do not exist, viz., a person who pays debts, a physician, a brāhmaṇa learned in the Vedas and a river flowing with water. One should dwell at a place where the king is powerful, devoted to righteousness, where the foes have been vanquished, where the earth is prolific, where the citizens are well-governed and always practice justice, the people are charitable, where the husband-men are not gluttonous, and where all medicinal herbs are procurable. One should not dwell there where three things are constant, viz., a person desirous of conquering, a former enemy and people who are always holding festivals. A wise man should always dwell among good tempered neighbours (221.103-109).

A woman during menses was considered impure. Special rules were laid down for the time of sexual intercourse also. Thus it is said that one should avoid seeing, touching, and talking with a woman during her periods (221.136). One should not have sexual intercourse with one's wife on the fourteenth, eighth and fifteenth day of the month (221.42). A woman during menstruation should be avoided by all the castes for four nights. He should avoid the fifth night of the Moon in order to avoid the birth of females. He could go to his wife on the sixth night, the best among all even nights. As daughters are born as a result of intercourse on odd nights, a wise man should cohabit with his wife on even nights for sons. Lawless men cohabit with their wives in the morning and impotent men in the evening (221.75, 76).

<sup>7.</sup> Kane, (oprocing pp) 1653h656 Collection, New Delhi. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA

Special regulations are stated regarding purification from defilement by touch and other means. Defilement from water cattles have drunk from, water that is in the natural state, i.e., lying on earth, and flesh that has been slain by candalas, kravyadas, and others, and clothes and other things lying on the highway are said to be made pure by the wind. Dust, fire, horses, cows, the rays of the sun and the moon, the wind, the earth, drops of water, mosquitoes and other insects inflict no contamination though they have been in contact with corrupt things. A goat and a horse are pure as regards their face but the face of a cow or a calf is not pure. A hawk is pure when it knocks fruit down. Things like a seat a boat, a carriage, a bed and grass on the road are purified by the rays of the sun, the moon, and the wind (221.113-131). After touching a woman in menses, a horse, a jackal and other animals. or a woman recently delivered of child, or people of low caste, one should take a bath for the sake of purification and also after carrying a corpse. After touching an oily human bone a man becomes clean when he has bathed, after touching a dry human bone a man becomes clean by rinsing his mouth, or by touching the cow, or by gazing at the sun (221.134-136). One should not bathe in another man's water, one should take a bath in holy ponds, in the Ganges, in lakes and rivers. After touching or conversing with blasphemers of the gods, the pitrs, holy sastras, sacrifices, prayers and other sacred objects, one should purify oneself by gazing at the sun. And after looking at a menstruating woman, a śūdra, an outcaste, a dead body, the unrighteous, a woman recently delivered of a child, an eunuch, a naked person, and on those who give away children and on the paramours of others men's wives, the wise must perform a purification rite. After touching forbidden food, a woman recently delivered, a cunuch, a cat, a rat, a dog, a cock and an outcaste, a cāndāla, and those who carry away corpses, one is purified by taking bath. One is polluted by touching a woman in her periods, domestic hogs, and even those men who have been contaminated by the impurity of a newly-delivered woman, and the base man who continually neglects religious rites and one who is abandoned by the brāhmaņas is also polluted (221.123-146).

There are rules again regarding forming friendships with people. One should not make friends with the haughty, or the insane, or fools or the unmannerly or those having a bad disposition, or those who steaf and have other vices, or spendthrifts, or the covetous, or

enemies, or prostitutes, or inferiors. One should not make friends with the mighty, or inferiors, or reprobates, or the ever-timid, or the fatalist. One should make friends with good men, with those who always observe virtuous custom, with the wise, with the honest, with the powerful and with those resolute in action (221.82-84).

The Br.P. also deals at length with the cleaning of various things. Thus it states that shells, stones, gold, silver, ropes, garments, vegetables, roots, fruits, wicker-work vessels, leather, gems, diamonds, corals, pearls, men's bodies are best cleansed with water; iron things with warm water; stones by scrubbing; oily vessels by warm water; grain, antelope-skin, pestle, mortar for husking rice, thick clothes, and a store, by sprinkling; woollen things and hair have ceremonial purity. White mustard is cleaned with oily sediment or the sediment from the sesamum seed. Things that are injured are always cleaned with water; cotton things with water and ashes; timber, ivory, bone and horn by scrapping; and earthen pots by reburning (221.113-119).

There are some things which are naturally pure. Thus the alms, a workman's hands wares for sale, a woman's face, whatever passes at the high road, what is unknown, what is brought by slaves, minerals, and what is admirable for its sound, what is long past, what is extremely abundant, what is young, what is done by the old and sickly, kitchens, women feeding children, running water and odourless bubbles are all pure things (221.128-130).

The ground is cleansed through time, by the rubbing of bodies, passage of cattle, by smearing, digging, watering, by sweeping or by worship. Things infested with hair-lice or sniffed at by cattle or infested with flies should be sprinkled with earth, water and ashes. Things made of udumbara wood should be cleaned with vinegar; tin and lead with salt; brass with ashes and water. The overflows of fluids are pure. A thing soiled by excreta is cleaned with earth and water after removing colour and smell (221.131,132). When one comes in contact with bad roads, mud and water one is cleaned by leaving them alone; things made of brick or mud are cleaned by contact with the wind (221.132,133).

There was a belief that on account of the presence of a divine jewel, people had no diseases and they were never afflicted by anavisti (16.24). If the Linga of lord Mahadeva was plunged in blood it was considered to be a bad omen suggesting the coming of some disastrous event (169.38). The effect of an evil eye was

counteracted by revolving round the face of a person, the tail of a cow, a vessel and pots (184.12,23).8

There were various pastimes in which people indulged for relaxation from the monotony of the tasks of life. Hunting was a very good pastime (10.22), (13.89). The art of story-telling was widespread and characters of worthy kings were given as examples (15.49), (26.16). Some people were experts in gajayuddha (44.18). Dyūta or gambling was considered to be a bad habit (43.32) from which some people made money (170.85). All people from the city together with women, servants, prostitutes and the king with his retinue came to witness public sports like malla-yuddha (193.23, 24). Public announcements were made through 'ghoşa'—drum-beating. The custom of smelling the head of a child to show parental affection, very common in the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, was also there (9.31).

The beliefs and practices of the people as depicted in the Br.P., thus reflect a mixture of brāhmanic religion and tribal and folk religious beliefs and practices, and all these represented the way of life called Hinduism. In other words, the Br.P., like other Purāṇas seems to have worked for Hinduization of both the brāhmanic and the indigenous religious traditions.

# Rewards and Punishments

Cause and effect are inseparably linked in the moral sphere. A good action has its reward and a bad act leads to retribution. If bad actions do not yield their consequences at once or in this life, the soul begins another existence and in the new environment undergoes suffering for its past deeds. The theory of karma and the theory of transmigration of souls are inextricably mixed up in Indian thought from at least the ancient times of Upanişads. The general rule is that karman, whether good or evil, cannot be got rid of, except by enjoying or undergoing its consequences.

The Br.P. lays great stress on the performance of various types of karmans and gives details of the rewards obtained through their performance.

<sup>8.</sup> For details vide: (i) the evil eye, amulets, receipes, exorcisation, etc. by E. Rehtsek, *JBBRAS*, X, pp.299.ff. (ii) The evil eye and allied notions by H.G.M. Murray, Arnslay, IAXV, pp.320.ffni. Digitized by S3 Foundation USA 9.C.Kane P. Valynosi, Vol. IV, p.39.

According to Br.P. one should know all the details of the rites that one performs, and it also lays stress on the performance of the rites in the company of one's wife and that is the reason why it says that a religious rite performed without knowing its vidhi bears just one fruit, but the same done after knowing its proper vidhi entails hundred-fold merit and the same rite done in the company of one's wife gives the complete fruit (129.61).

Dana was considered to be of great importance in one's life as one attained many things through it. The dana given on auspicious days and on the bank of rivers was considered meritorious. Thus it is said that one who gives dana to the brāhmaņas on holy days like grahaņa, samkrānti, ayanārambha, visuva yoga, the tithis like yuga and others like vyatipāta, tithiksaya or on auspicious days in the months of Āṣāḍha, Kārtika and Māgha gets a thousand-fold merit (62.10,11). It is also said that the dana given at the Purușottamatīrtha between the tenth day of the śuklapaksa of the month Jyestha and the pūrnimā of the same month gives endless merit as all the tīrthas of the world come and reside there during that period (63.13,16). Elsewhere it is said that on seeing the lord Purusottama one gets the reward of giving a dana of a hundred cows, a hundred daughters, a hundred coins, land, food, a bull, cows made of sesame, elephants, horses, chariots, cows made of ghee, golden-horned cow (jaladhenu), of offering an arghya to a guest, of giving water to the thirsty in summer, of the vratas candrayana and cirna and of fasts observed for one month (57.56-The dana of sesame, cow, wealth and corn given on the bank of the river Godavari bears endless fruit (83.26). The performance of sacrifice also gives the highest fruit. Thus one who sacrifices for a year or a month near the Purușottama-kșetra goes to the highest abode of lord Hari and finally attains liberation (70.5-8). The offering of oblations to the pitrs at some special tirthas gives them inexhaustible satisfaction. Thus the offering of oblations to the pitrs at Rāmatīrtha relieves them from hell (123.207-211), that given at Yamatīrtha increases their affection (131.7), and that offered at virajakșetra (42.9), on the shore of the ocean (62.12,13), and at Varāhatīrtha (79.21,22) brings them satisfaction.

The austere life: The practice of an austere life also gives various types of meritmas. Thus one who practises penance standing on one foot and with controlled senses and without eating anything

worships lord Purusottama on the twelfth of the bright half of the month of Jyestha receives higher fruit (51.63,64). The tapastirtha increases the power of the pitrs (126.1).

A visit to holy places bestowed great merit. The pilgrimage to Puruşottamatīrtha on the day of the Mahājyaiṣṭhī pūrņimā at the time of the conjunction of rāśi and nakṣatra and worshipping Lord Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā gets the merit of twelve pilgrimages (64.1,2). One who goes for a pilgrimage of Guḍivā and sees Kṛṣṇā, Rāma and Subhadrā gets more fruits than those of ten Aśvamedhas; he saves the seven higher and lower generations and goes in an aeroplane of his own liking to Viṣṇupura (66.15-23). A restrained person who goes for twelve pilgrimages and establishes Lord Kṛṣṇa according to the proper rites enjoys various pleasures and attains mokṣa in the end (67.1-8).

Holy bath: To take a bath in holy rivers was considered to be very meritorious. It earns various rewards. One who takes a bath in Svetagangā and sees Svetamādhava and Matsyamādhava goes to Svetadvīpa (59.1-3). A bath in the ocean destroys all sins (62.14). A bath in the river Ganges gives the reward that is entailed by Candragrahana, Sūryagrahana, Ayanārambha, viṣuvayoga, saṃkrānti and vaidhṛti yoga. Even though one might be a great sinner still if one gives up his body within ten yojanas of the bank of the river Godāvarī, one gets liberation (75.36-44). By taking a bath at Candratīrtha (86,1-2) and at Revatīgangāsamgama (121.24) one becomes great in Viṣṇuloka. A bath in the river Godāvarī gives bliss (122.1). A bath at the Āpastambatīrtha uproots the anādiavidyā (130.33,34).

Tree-worship constitutes one of the important factors of Indian religion. One who bows down to the tree Nyagrodha gets fruit higher than that of Rājasūya and Aśvamedha (57.18). One who worships the tree Aśvattha on Saturday gets success (118.28-32).

Bhagavadadarśana entails rewards of various pilgrimages to the holy tirthas like Puşkara, Amarakantaka, Naimişa and other (65. 94-96) and one who sees Lord Kṛṣṇa gets a son, wealth, freedom from diseases, a good husband, a long life, fame, intelligence, strength, knowledge, patience, youth, healthy progeny and animals (66.15,16). One who sees Lord Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadra on CC-0. Prof. Satya Vrat Shastri Collection, Balarāma and Subhadra on

the Prabodhini ekādaśī, on the pūrņimā of Phālguna and in the visuvayoga at Gudivā, goes to Visnuloka (67.1-8). One who meditates on Lord Kṛṣṇa at the time of waking enters Kṛṣṇa after giving up the body (177.5-21). The religious rites performed on certain special holy days entail meritorious results. One who fasts on the Sukla ekādašī and takes a bath at the Ganikāsamgamatīrtha gets akşayapada (86.1-12). One who worships lord Sanideva on the early morning of Saturday becomes free from the troubles of grahas (118.28-32).

One who worships lord Nṛṣiṃha becomes free from sins, gets desired things, attains the status of a god or a gandharva or a yakşa or a vidyādhara and gets heaven and liberation and he gets the fruit of ten Asvamedhas. He goes to Vișnuloka in a divine craft and is entertained by gandharvas and saves the twenty-one generations of his family. He comes back to the world, is born as a brāhmaņa well-versed in the four Vedas, attains Vaisņavayoga and gets liberation (58.60-77).

Reading holy books and holy stories also gives various rewards. One who reads the Puranas after having good progeny goes to heaven (I.32). The story of Umā and Siva destroys sins and gives one all the pleasures (34.35). One who either reads or hears the prayers of gods in honour of Siva gets the power to go in all the three worlds and is worshipped by all the gods (37.29,30). One who remembers or reads the story of Siva's kamandalu given to Brahmā gets all the desired objects and freedom from sins (72.31, 34). One who reads the story of a prostitute going to heaven gets freedom from all the sins and long life (86.48-50). One who reads the Süryopākhyāna, remembers Siva gets a long life and finally attanis Lord Siva (110.226-229). Similarly, one who reads the story of Mātrtīrtha (112.27.28) gets long life and one who reads the story of the sage Kandu becomes free from sin and goes to heaven (178.194).

Recitation of various stotras and prayers also leads to various rewards. One who worships Lord Siva by the prayer composed by Daksa gets fame, heaven, prosperity, wealth, victory, education, etc. One who has diseases, who is unhappy, who is oppressed by fear or is engaged in political complications gets freedom from all of them by reciting this stotra. The yakşas, piśācas, nāgas and vināyaka never bring any obstruction in his house of Lord Siva is worshipped by this stotra. He gets freedom from sins and is worshipped by

gods after death (40.121-131). One who mutters the stotra composed by the king Indradyumna in honour of Lord Kṛṣṇa gets the four puruṣārthas and attains Viṣṇu. It gives freedom from sins and bestows enjoyment and liberation (49.62-63). One who worships the goddess Kṣudhā with the stotra composed by Kaṇva shall never be afflicted by poverty and unhappiness. It destroys the sins and increases the happiness of the pitṛs (85.20-24). Those who worship lord Gaṇeśa with the stotra composed by gods will never suffer from poverty (114.23). If the Nṛṣiṃhakavaca is recited once, it protects one from all trouble. If it is recited twice, it protects one from gods and demons and if it is recited thrice he is incapable of being destroyed (58.28-31).

Some karmans lead to freedom from sins. Thus a bath in the river Vaitaraņī (42.4), seeing the Lord Kṛṣṇa (65.83), and Ananta (59.1), and pilgrimage to various tīrthas like Koţitīrtha (148.1,2), Paiśācanāśanatīrtha (150.22,23). Nimnabhedatīrtha (151.2) Vañjarasamgamatīrtha (159.47-49), Devayānatīrtha (160.1), Kuśatarpaņatīrtha (161.1), Manyutīrtha (162.1), Patatritīrtha (166.12,13)) Bhānutīrtha (168.1), Govardhanatīrtha (91.1), Pāpapraņāśanatīrtha (92.49), Svetatīrtha (94.1) bring freedom from sin. A bath in the river Gautami relieves one from the sin of an adulterous approach to the wife of a teacher (81.20-22). A pilgrimage to the Ilātīrtha (108.1), Cakratīrtha (109.1) and Pāpapraņāśanatīrtha (110.215) frees one from the sin of brahmana murder, that to the Ramatīrtha destroys the sin of bhunahatyā (123.1). By taking a bath at Somatirtha (119.1), one gets the fruit of somapana. The pilgrimage of Pulastyatīrtha (96.1), Dhānyatīrtha (a.120), Ātreyatīrtha (140.1) gives one back a lost kingdom. The snana and dana at the Rnapramocanatīrtha frees one from śrauta and smārta rņas (99.12). The Mātrtīrtha frees one from diseases (112.1). The Avighnatīrtha removes all the obstructions (114.1). The Putratīrtha bestows a son on a barren woman and makes a eunuch free from his natural defect (125.45-49). The Apsaroyugatīrtha (147.1-3) and the Yayatitirtha (146.42-45) destroy old age. One who goes round Vedadvipa gets the fruit of going round the earth and becomes wellversed in the Vedas (151.2,22,24). One who remembers the creation of Manyu gets victory and is never defeated (162.32,33). The dana and bath, japa, tapas, homa, etc. done on the peak of a mountain, on the bank of a river, on the shore of the ccean, in the temple of Vişnu and Siva or on some holy samgamah become akşaya (122.5,6).

One who goes round Lord Brahmā in the Brāhmatīrtha with its seven islands and one who gives money in dāna to a Brāhmaņa gets the fruit of going round the world (131.40,51). The Paiśācatīrtha (88.18,20), Kṣudhātīrtha (85.1), and Ahalyāsaṃgamatīrtha (87.70) bestow the desired objects. One who remembers that in Pippaleśvaratīrtha, Mahādeva is worshipped in two forms Cakreśvara and Pippaleśvara, gets the desired objects (110.226-229). Similarly, a pilgrimage to Mahānalatīrtha (116.25), Ātmatīrtha (117.1), Siddhatīrtha (143.1), Nanditaṭatīrtha (152.40,41), Bhavatīrtha (a.153), Sahasrakuṇḍatīrtha (a.154), Kiṣkindhātīrtha (a.157), Śankhahṛdatīrtha (a.156), Vyāsatīrtha (a.158), Sārasvatatīrtha (163.1,2), Bhadratīrtha (165.1), Vipratīrtha (167.33), Cakṣuṣatīrtha (170.80), Bhānutīrtha (168.36-38), Urvašītīrtha (171.48) fulfils all desires.

Religious rites: Some religious rites lead to the attainment of higher status in the life hereafter. Thus one who gives up one's life near Citrakūṭa after observing religious rites there becomes a Mahāgaṇapati (35.28 missing in 'kha'). Similarly, one who worships Lord Śiva with the stotra of Dakṣa (40.121-131) and who reads the story of Śiva behaving like a child gets the lordship of gaṇas (35.64). One who gives dāna and takes a bath on the rivers gets the status of Indra (108.115). One who observes a fast on the eleventh day and sees Lord Puruṣottama on the fifteenth day of the month of Jyeṣṭha goes to the highest abode from where he does not return (63.8,9).

Sacrifices formed an integral part of the lives of Hindus in ancient India. According to the Mīmāṃsakas, sacrifices create an 'apūrva' which helps men in enjoying the things hereafter. Thus the merit emanating from sacrifices was of high value. One who offers oblations to the pitrs, the gods, sages and others in the Indradyumnasaras (63.5), at Daśāśvamedhatīrtha (83.29), gets the fruit of ten Aśvamedhas; by worshipping lord Śiva one gets the fruit of a thousand Aśvamedhas (43.70), a pilgrimage to Suparṇāsaṃgamatīrtha (100.31) and Mārkaṇḍeyatīrtha (145.1). Nāgatīrtha (111.86) gives the fruit of all the sacrifices and that to the tirthas Viśvāmitra, Hariścandra, Śunaḥśepa, Rohita, Varuṇā, Brāhma, Āgneya, Aindava, Maitra, Vaiṣnava, Yamya, Aśvin, Auśana, gives the fruit of a Naramedha (104.89) that to the Gotirtha gives the fruit of a Gomedha (110.216). These facts further lead to the interesting

conclusion that human beings and cows were offered in sacrifices. It is also said that one who recites the Agnistotra on the southern bank of the river Gautamī gets long life and one who keeps it in a written form in one's house has no fear of fire and gets the fruit of Agnistoma (125.51-53). The Pulastyatīrtha gives success in all the fields of life (96.1).

The Hindus believe that there are various worlds belonging to various gods and after death a holy man is entitled to one of them. Thus one who worships lord Sakra, Mātrs and other gods in Avanti (43.83,84) and one who sprinkles the water of the river Svetaganga with a blade of grass (59.84,85) goes to heaven. One who after taking a bath in the ocean worships Lord Hari and the goddess Vārāhī goes to the abode of gods (42.11). One who worships Kṛṣṇa, Balarāma and Subhadrā between the tenth and the fifteenth days of sukla Jyeştha (63.16), on the third day of the krşnapakşa of the month Vaisākha and on the fifteenth day-Pūrnimā-in the Jyeşthā nakşatra of the month Jyeştha (63.16-18) and at the beginning of uttarāyana (63.17), who performs the religious rites on the bank of the stream Indradyumna (63.5-9) and who offers oblations to pitrs in the river Siprā (43.75-82), who worships Lord Hari in the form of kroda (42.5), and who meditates on earth (60.2-5) gets freedom from sins, saves his twenty-one generations, becomes as bright as the sun and goes to Vișnuloka in a divine craft entertained by gandharvas and apasarās, enjoys with the moon and stars for companions, returns to the earth, receives birth in the family of yogins, becomes well-versed in all the śāstras and the Vedas and taking up Vișnuyoga attains liberation. Similarly, one who goes on a pilgrimage to the tīrthas Kapila, Gograha, Soma, Alābu, Mṛṭyuñjaya, Kroda, Vāsuka, Siddheśvara and Viraja and takes a bath with proper rites goes to Brahmaloka (42.6-8). It is also stated that if one dies near the hermitage Citrakūța, one goes to Brahmaloka (35.27, missing in 'kha'). A brāhmaņa who recites the stotra composed by Dakşa in honour of Lord Siva (40.121-131), who worships Siva (43.94; 110.166), who takes a bath in the Kapilatīrtha (41.89-93) and worships the lord Virupākşa and the goddess Varadā together with the gods Canda, Kārtikeya, Ganeśa, Vṛṣabha, Kalpadruma, and Sāvitrī (41.89-93), goes to Sivaloka. One who takes a bath at the Ekāmrakā-kşetra, in the stream Indradyumna (49.61), who dies at Virajaksetra (42.10) or in the cemetery (177.24), who recites the stotrastcomposed by North Digitized By Syroman in the

honour of Lord Kṛṣṇa (49.61) or who worships Kṛṣṇa with the twelve-lettered mantra (57-29) gets liberation.

Sins and their retribution: Sin is an act which is regarded as a wilful rebellion against or disobedience of some law supposed to be laid down by God or known by revelation; it is opposition to the will of God manifested in an automatic work; at the least it is a failure to abide by the regulations contained therein.<sup>10</sup>

The smrtis had evolved the doctrine that if a sinner did not undergo prāyaścitta, he had to suffer torments in hell, thereafter he was born as an insect or a lower animal or tree on account of some remnants of his sins and then he was born as a human being afflicted with certain diseases or defects. The word karmavipāka was known to Yājñavalkya (3.131) and the Br. P. refers to it frequently. According to the Yogasūtra, karmavipāka, i.e., ripening of evil actions takes three forms, viz., jāti, āyuh, and bhoga. The Br. P. illustrates both jāti and āyuḥ (217.40).

As against the most common interpretation of the doctrine of transmigration. i.e., a system of reward for the good acts and retribution for the evil actions of an individual, the Br. P. suggests, at some places, the idea of evolutionary rebirth.

The basis of the division of sins into 'the grave' and 'the lesser' seems to have been followed by most of the Puranic as well as smrti writers. Killing a brāhmaṇa, drinking wine, stealing gold, committing adultery and associating with anybody committing any of the above four sins, are considered as 'grave' sins. All others, moral, religious and social are regarded as 'lesser' sins and the Purāṇas like the smrtis describe how for committing these a person is punished. Generally the punishment takes two forms, viz., sufferings in hell and vegetative, animal and low human births on earth.

As against the sin of killing a brāhmaņa, violence of any kind towards any other being came to be regarded as a lesser sin. The Br.P.<sup>14</sup> states killing an unarmed person results in a man's rebirth as a donkey, then as a deer, a fish, a wild dog, an elephant and

<sup>10.</sup> Kane, HDS Vol. IV, p.1.

<sup>11.</sup> Šātātapa I. 1-4.

<sup>12. 224.41, 225.43 &</sup>amp; 49, also of Matsya 115.14.

Sati mūle tadvipāko jātyāyurbhogah, Yogasūtra II. 13.
 217. 100-104; Satva Vra Ghasta Plaction Rhanda, Dariga V.23, Foundation UMbh.

<sup>13.111. 112-116 (</sup>Bom.ed.)

finally as a human being again. Stealing gold was considered a lesser sin in the Br.P. It describes in detail the stealing of different articles and the resulting low births. Thus it says, 15 on stealing curds one becomes a crane, on stealing unconsecrated fish, one becomes a biting insect, on stealing flower or pudding one becomes an ant : on stealing nispāva one becomes a rat, on stealing pudding made of flour, one becomes a kumbholūka; on stealing water, one becomes a crow, on stealing bronze, one becomes a hārīta bird, on stealing a silver vessel, one becomes a pigeon; on stealing a golden vessel, one becomes an insect; on stealing a silken garment, one becomes an osprey. A stealer of a silk worm (while in the cocoonkośakāra) becomes a dancer; that of a silken garment, a parrot; of a dukūla, a swan; of a cotton garment, a heron; the thief of pattā. āvika and ksauma (silken and woollen garments) is born as a hare: of powder (churna) as a bird with variegated colours (a peacock): of red garments as jīvam jīvakah (a bird); of cosmetics as a musk rat (chuchunder); of milk (or water) as a Balākā; and of oil as a bird named vadavāgula (Tailapāyī). Further it is said that the thief of a musical instrument is born as lomasa, of food mixed with pinyāka as a terrible mouse with tawny hair; of ghee as crow, and madgu or an acquatic bird, of meat of fish as a crow, of salt as a cirikāka, and one who takes up the things that are given to him just for protection is born in the yoni of matsya and then he is born as a human being. It is also stated that a thief of corn like yava, sesame, māşa, kulittha, sarşapa and caņa, kalāya, mudga, godhūma and atasi, is born a rat, śūkara, or a dog (217.64-65).

Adultery with the wife of a teacher was considered a grave sin whereas adultery with the wife of another person was placed in the list of lesser sins. The Br.P. states that it leads to a series of low births such as those of a wolf, a dog, a jackal, a vulture, a vyāla, a kanka and a crane (217.105-109). Adulterous relation with the wife of a brother according to Br.P.16 results in a man's birth as a male cuckoo.

The Br.P. (217-68-71) mentions the births of a boar, a crane, an ant, an insect (kīta) a moth (kṛmi) and then as a human being as a punishment for those who indulge in adultery with the wife of

<sup>15. 217. 87-99; (</sup>cf. Garuda P. Pūrva Khanda. a.104, 1-9, of 225).

<sup>16.</sup> Br.P. 217. 66 cf. also Garuda P. Pürva Khanda, Açara Khanda a 225. V.18

a friend, a teacher or a king. The Br.P. inflicts severe punishment on a śūdra who indulges in adultery with a brāhmaṇa woman (217, 77-80); and mentions his births as an insect, sūkara, dog, and a rat, before being reborn as a human being (217.67). According to the Br.P. the mental sin of coveting the wife of a teacher, is referred to as bringing about a man's birth as a dog and an insect (217.45-47).

To disobey elders was considered a sin. Thus the Br. P. (217. 49-59) says 'one who hates his parents is born as an ass and a kumbhīra and one with whom parents are angry is born as an ass and a cat; if one shouts at his parents he is born as a parrot; if he beats them, he is born as tortoise, a thorn (śalyaka) and a cruel animal. One who insults an elder brother is born as a heron and

a jīvaka (217-76).

Violation of religious rites also led to low births. Thus the Br. P. states that one who does not offer food to the gods and manes is born a crow, a cock and a cruel animal (217.74-75.) Not only committing sins, but contact with sinners was also threatened with punishment in the form of low births. If a learned brāhmaṇa accepts something from a sinner he has to pass through a chain of low births. The Br. P. mentions the births of a donkey, an ox, a brahmarākṣasa, and finally as a man (217. 37-39). If he officiates at the sacrifice of a sinner, he has to pass through the births of an insect, an ass, a boar, a cock, a fox, a dog, and return to a man again (217. 40-44).

Jealousy results in a man's birth as an animal with horns (217.59). One who commits a breach of trust is born a fish, a deer, a goat, a worm and then man again (217, 59-61). One who beats his pupil without any reason is born a cruel animal (217.98). Not being true to one's words with reference to giving one's daughter in marriage led to birth as an insect (217. 71-72).

The great Smrti writers like Manu and others have shown various expiations in the form of penances for the sins committed by men. Out of all of them the remembrance of the Lord Nārāyaṇa is the best one in the opinion of the Br. P. (220.38-39).

### Heaven and Hell

The idea of 'svarga', (heaven,) is clear from the Rgvedic times. The Av. (IV. 34.2.5.6), Tai. Br. (III.10.11) and Sat. Br. (XI.1.8.6) also refer to the idea of heaven. The upanişads also refer to heaven. Heaven was supposed to be a place of delights. The Kauş. (J.3) speaks of several worlds of the gods such as those of Agni, Vāyu, Varuṇa, Āditya, Indra, Prajāpati and Brahmā. The Br. P. promises various pleasures in the Nandana Vana (225.5-6). It sets out numerous actions whereby a man attains heaven. The Br. P. assures us that a generous donor goes to heaven where he enjoys the best pleasures in the company of nymphs and in the heavenly garden called Nandana and when he falls down from heaven he is born as a mortal in a rich and noble family.

The Br. P. states that by performing the following actions, one goes to heaven. One who has a good character and is merciful, who controls the senses and does not kill the animals, who never takes the wealth of others, condsiders another woman to be his sister, mother or daughter, who loves his own wife and is faithful to her and approaches her at the proper time, who acts righteously, does not speak a lie, who does not touch the wealth even though obtained from a desolate place, who is not attracted towards women even on seeing them quite alone, who considers friend and enemy as equal, studies the sastras, and who is friendly to all goes to heaven (a.224). The Br. P. states that svarga is what causes happiness to the mind, that naraka or hell is the opposite of it and that meritorious deeds and wicked deeds are designated as svarga and naraka respectively and that svarga and naraka are really states of the mind characterized by happiness and pain respectively.20 From the teachings of various authorities.21 one can come to the conclusion that when the sins are not expiated by penances or by state punishments, they lead to hell and that then, owing to

<sup>17.</sup> I. 35.6. 125.5, VIII. 5-8, 41.9, IX.113.9, X.107.2. 14.8, 154.1.3.

<sup>18.</sup> Brhadāranyaka IV. 3.33, Tai. Up ,II.8, Kathopanişad I.12, Chan. Up. V.10.7; also cf. Br. Up. III.6, 15.16; Kauş. Up.I.4.

A. 224; also cf. Anuśāsana (23.84-102), Šānti 99.4.5; 192.8; 191.13, 193.27, Matsya 276.17.

<sup>20. 22.44,47;</sup> also of Vişnu II. 6-46.

<sup>21.</sup> Yaj. III. 221, Manu XI, XII, Vişņu Dh.S. 45.1,

some remnant of evil deeds, they lead to birth as lower animals and then as decrepit or diseased human beings.

In the Rgveda there is hardly any clear reference to hell. The Av. (XII.4.36) mentions Narakaloka. The Sat. Br. (XI.6.1.4) refers to the torments of hell. The Tai. (A. I.19) refers to the four narakas called Visarpin, Avisarpin, Vişādin and Avişādin. The Kathopanişad (II.5,6) refers to Yama but does not say anything about the torments of hell. Manu<sup>22</sup> derives the word putra from the hell 'put'. In Vedāntasūtra (III.1.15), the narakas are said to be seven. The Vișņu Purāņa (I.6.41) mentions the seven narakas. Other works enumerate twenty-one narakas.23 The Br. P.24 speaks of twenty-two narakas and contains harrowing descriptions of the horrible torments of hell. Elsewhere (ch.22), the Br. P. names twenty-five hells and states what sinners fall into which of them. The Bhāgavata (v.26.6) states that there are twenty-eight hells. The Padma Purāņa (uttara ch.27) states that there are one hundred and fifty hells and Agnipurāna (203 & 371) states that the hells are said to be one hundred and forty-four. The craze for multiplying narakas went so far that the Br. P. and others declared that there were thousands, lakhs and crores of narakas.25

The Br. P. denotes various reasons in general which lead to hell. Those who act contrary to the rules of caste and Asramas by either mind, speech or action go to hell. In hell, they are harassed with their faces downward; the gods see them in that condition and thereby the sinners grow a disgust for sin and acquire faith for righteousness (22.29,30). The servants of Yama pierce the tongue of one who has spoken lies and one who sees the wife of others with an evil intention gets his eye pierced (215.96-99). It states that hell is the result of violation of proper actions.26 Elesewhere it is said that the men having tāmasa nature go to hell (240.46).

<sup>22.</sup> IX. 138, also cf. Adiparva 229.14, Vișņu Dharma Sūtra, 15.44.

<sup>23.</sup> Manu IV. 88-90, Yāj. III.222-224, Vişņu Dh.S. 43.2-22, Agni P.371.20-22, Nārada (Prakīrņaka 44).

<sup>24. 214.14-17, 51.203; 215.83.</sup> 

<sup>25. 215.82-83,</sup> also cf. Vișnu Dharmottara quoted in Smrtimuktāphala P. 859; Garuda P. Pretakhanda, Ch.3.3.

<sup>26.</sup> Narakam Karmaṇām lopāt phalamāhurmaharşayah, 233.26,

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Dr Surabhi Sheth, née Trivedi, teaches Sanskrit at Daulat Ram College, University of Delhi, Delhi. Earlier she taught at the M.S. University of Baroda and at Vallabh Vidya Nagar University. While at the M.S. University she was awarded Senior Research (post-doctoral) fellowship of the U.G.C. during which time she worked on the relationship between the Dharma Sastras and the Puranas.

Dr Sheth has published articles and research papers in reputed professional journals in the field of Sanskritic, ideological and cultural studies. Currently, she is working on Gandhiji's approach to the Hindu scriptures.

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